

A K Beverley
Language and Ideology
Abstract

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This thesis investigates the interrelationship of language and ideology as exemplified in a corpus of politics textbooks used in East and West German schools. The theoretical framework adopted is a development of the work of M A K Halliday, incorporating also work done in other fields of linguistics, in psychology, pedagogics, political science, and sociology.

Part I discusses the corpus and the conceptual framework of the thesis. The role of language in the creation and maintenance of ideology, and the contrasting ways in which this finds expression in political education in the two German states, are discussed. The problematic issue of the standpoint of the linguist is considered. Part II presents the linguistic framework of the thesis; little immediately relevant work had previously been carried out. Halliday's work provided the most appropriate tool for our analysis.

In Part III the texts are discussed from the standpoint of each of the macrofunctions Transitivity, Mood and Theme, and contrasts are drawn where appropriate between the expression of these functions in the two sets of texts. The main overall conclusion of the thesis is that the two sets of texts are typologically distinct and express different universes with respect to the role of the reader and the text; these differences can be perceived in all the linguistic systems investigated.

The thesis makes a major contribution to the discussion on the interrelationship of language and ideology, but goes beyond a simple rehearsing of contrasting lexical usage in East and West Germany by also analysing syntactic and semantic features. Examples of linguistic obfuscation, resulting from mismatches between language and ideology, are also discussed. Most importantly, the thesis is an original application of Hallidayan linguistics to German.

LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGY

A linguistic analysis of school textbooks
from the FRG and the GDR, with special
reference to the role of language in
socialisation

by

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Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to discover ways in which language can interact with ideology. The main thrust of the analysis concerns the reflection of ideological beliefs in the linguistic form of messages; this is dealt with in the specific context of political socialisation, ie a context in which, it is widely believed, the linguistic form of a message can influence the way a receiver perceives and responds to information given. We also discuss examples of linguistic obfuscation arising in ideologically problematic areas.

In order to provide a meaningful basis for our thesis, it was necessary first of all to establish a wide conceptual framework within which our arguments could be presented; this entailed drawing on work in the fields of psychology, pedagogics, political science and sociology, in addition to earlier work carried out on the linguistic divergence between the two German states.

Differences found on the theoretical level between the roles of the pupil, the teacher and the textbook in the two German states are traced throughout our analysis of the language of the textbooks. Discussion of these differences requires a consideration of linguistic relativity, of the term ideology, and of the concept of critical linguistics.

The analysis takes the form of an application of Halliday's work on Systemic Functional Grammar to politics textbooks used in schools in the two German states. The presentation of working people is dealt with from the points of view of Transitivity, Mood and Theme. On the basis of Halliday's view of language as choice, we discuss choices made in the light of possible alternatives, and consider what these linguistic choices reveal about the ideological stance of the sender.

The linguistic analysis of the texts begins with a conceptual differentiation between the two sets of textbooks. The ideational aspect of the texts is discussed by reference to systems of classification, and patterns of agency and initiation. The inter-personal aspect is dealt with by a discussion of questions and tasks set for the readers, whilst modal verbs are discussed as occupying an ambiguous position with respect to the ideational and inter-personal components.

The textual component is discussed with reference to sentence-length, clause-type, cohesion and causality. The final section on testability relates to all three macrofunctions, and concerns the degree of freedom accorded to the reader by the text.

We feel that the original contribution of this thesis is twofold. Firstly, we take a major linguistic theory that has been largely developed on the basis of English, and the main applications of which have hitherto dealt with various registers of English, and apply it to German. This necessitates adaptation of some of the details of Halliday's work, but overall demonstrates the relevance and applicability to German of his functional approach to language. Secondly, both the nature of our linguistic analysis, and the application of it to school textbooks from the two German states, break significant new ground. We feel that we have been able to avoid the kind of methodological shortcomings found in early works on the east-west German language "rift", and to present a critical assessment of the interaction of language and ideology in the two German states without permitting personal ideological convictions to prejudice scientific statements. This should contribute to the ongoing discussion of power-relations within society.

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We list below some of the many individuals and institutions from whom we have received help and advice during the preparation of this thesis, and to whom we would like to express our thanks:

i) Governmental and other official institutions in the FRG and the GDR: the education ministries of all eleven Länder, in particular the Hesse ministry in Wiesbaden, for supplying information about pedagogic aims and methods, current and prospective curricula, lists of approved and most popular textbooks and, in some cases, copies of textbooks in use; the Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Bundesrepublik Deutschland for information on the history of political education in the FRG; the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn, the Internationales Schulbuchinstitut, Braunschweig, and the Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim, for general and bibliographical information; in the GDR, the Haus des Lehrers, Berlin, which made information and material available each time I visited;

ii) Libraries: the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (West); the library of the Humboldt University, Berlin (East); the Goethe institute, London; the Robert Scott Library of the Polytechnic Wolverhampton, especially John Nockels and the inter-library loan staff;

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Abbreviations

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AGHR	Allgemeine Grundlegung der Hessischen Rahmenrichtlinien
BfpB	Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung
B-W Gym	Baden-Württemberg: Vorläufiger Lehrplan für Klassen 8-10 des Gymnasiums, December 1976
B-W Materialien	Baden-Württemberg: Materialien zu einem Lehrplan für Gemeinschaftskunde in der Sekundarstufe I des Gymnasiums
B-W Re	Baden-Württemberg: Vorläufiger Lehrplan für das Fach Gemeinschaftskunde für die Klassen 7-10 der Realschule
FES: Recht auf Arbeit	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung: Die beiden deutschen Staaten und das Recht auf Arbeit
G&P	Gesellschaft und Politik
Gesetz	Gesetz über das einheitliche sozialistische Bildungssystem der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik
Hesse: Entwurf	Hessisches Kultusministerium: Entwurf. Vorläufige Pläne; Gesellschaftslehre, Sekundarstufe I
HHPo III	Hamburg: Lehrplan Politik II in den Klassen 9-10 der Haupt- und Realschule und des Gymnasiums
HHRe	Hamburg: Lehrplan Sozialkunde und Politik auf der Beobachtungsstufe der Volksschule und in den Klassen 7-10 der Haupt- und Realschule
HRRD	Hessische Rahmenrichtlinien Deutsch
HRRG	Hessische Rahmenrichtlinien Gesellschaftslehre, Sekundarstufe I
KMK	Beschlüsse der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
KMK/FOS	Rahmenrichtlinien für das Fach Politik/Gemeinschaftskunde/Sozialkunde/Gesellschaftslehre in der Fachoberschule; Beschluß der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 14. 9. 79
Lehrplan, Klasse 7	Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 7
Lehrplan, Klasse 8	Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 8
Lehrplan, Klasse 9	Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 9
Lehrplan, Klasse 10	Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 10
Lehrplan, Klasse 9:1969	Lehrplan für deutsche Sprache und Literatur, Klasse 9
Lehrplan, Klasse 10:1970	Lehrplan für deutsche Sprache und Literatur, Klasse 10
NRW Hau	Nordrhein-Westfalen: Hauptschule. Empfehlungen Gesellschaftslehre für die Klassen 9 und 10
Rh-Pf	Rheinland-Pfalz: Lehrplanentwurf, Sozialkunde, Klasse 7 bis 9/10, Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium

TP	Thema Politik
Unterrichtshilfen, Klasse 8	Staatsbürgerkunde, 8. Klasse, Unterrichtshilfen
WB:ML Soz	Wörterbuch der marxistisch-leninistischen Soziologie
WB:soz.St	Wörterbuch zum sozialistischen Staat

Note: The GDR textbooks Staatsbürgerkunde 7, 8, 9 and 10 are referred to simply by number; for example, 7/10 refers to Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 7, page 10.

PART I: THE CORPUS, AND THE WIDER CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE THESIS

Part I first discusses the school textbooks which were chosen for linguistic analysis, and justifies their selection. It then sets the thesis in the overall context of linguistic relativity and the school of thought which posits a permanent, though changing, reciprocity of effect and influence between a language and the society that uses it. After a brief discussion of the term "ideology" and the sense in which we employ it in this thesis, namely to denote in a very general way an individual's outlook on the world, including, but not restricted to, his political beliefs, we then make use of the linguistic relativity hypothesis in our discussion of the role of language in political socialisation and the way societies employ language as a major instrument in the integration of the younger generation into the prevailing ideology. Although the importance of language in this process is widely recognised, it is paid remarkably little attention by those in the FRG who write or discuss schoolbooks, apart from some general warnings against the dangers of propaganda. This contrasts with the situation in the GDR, where educationists and others pay greater attention to the role played by language in political socialisation, and differentiate clearly between ideologically acceptable and non-acceptable phraseology.

We then focus specifically on the details of the systems of political education in the GDR and the FRG, and note that, whilst on one level both education systems are fulfilling the same function with the same end in view, the precise natures of that function and that end are very different in the two states as a result of the radically differing political, social and economic ideologies of which the education systems are an expression. We argue that the GDR texts present and operate in a closed universe, whilst this is less true of the FRG texts. We discuss the concept of Parteilichkeit, which is central to the teaching of politics in the GDR and underlies and shapes the roles of the pupil, the teacher and the textbook in the teaching situation. These roles are very different in the FRG as a result of the rejection of Parteilichkeit and the FRG's stated desire to present material in a neutral way and permit pupils to form their political opinions independently and without undue influence from external forces. We suggest that there are in fact certain taboo areas within the political system of the FRG that are not open to criticism, and that the individual is not quite so free to form independent opinions as many theoretical writings suggest.

We are unable to investigate the effectiveness of the two systems of political education and the extent to which young people accept and conform to the status quo, and specifically to what extent they adopt ideologically desirable forms of language. We indicate briefly, however, some views on this topic and suggest that this is an area where further linguistic research could be undertaken.

The final two sections in Part I deal with work done hitherto on the East-West German language "rift", and the concept of "critique" as exemplified in these works and in the present thesis. We make use of work done on the East-West rift on two levels: firstly, we utilise in our own work insights gained by earlier writers as to the extent to which the German language in the two post-war states can be said to be diverging; secondly, we note the shortcomings of much of the work produced in the 1950s and 1960s, which were a result of the desire on the part of many writers to prove an ideological point by means of a so-called linguistic analysis, and their frequent failure to differentiate between objective fact and subjective belief. In the section on Critique we discuss various views on the role of the analyst in an investigation of the type we are undertaking here, and argue that one way of attempting to overcome the kind of shortcomings found in the early works on the East-West rift is to base one's analysis on a clearly worked-out and consistent theory of language use. The analyst should also endeavour to become aware of and distance himself from his own ideological beliefs and ensure that these do not become confused with or take on the guise of scientific statements. We argue that the present thesis belongs in the field of Sprachkritik and not Ideologiekritik, and that we thus feel justified in not offering detailed critiques of the ideologies of the two German states before or as a concomitant of our investigation of the linguistic representation of these ideologies. We take account of the view of those writers whom we term the "UEA linguists" that much of sociolinguistics has hitherto been too simply descriptive and not sufficiently critical of what it discusses, but reject their somewhat crusading approach as too ambitious and not necessary in the light of the aims of the present thesis.

1 The corpus

The analysis was carried out on the basis of school textbooks used in political education classes in the GDR and the FRG. It was felt that such textbooks provided a suitable corpus for analysis since:

- a) they deal explicitly with ideology, in both the political and the general sense, and so a comparison of their contents provides an interesting preliminary to an analysis of the language used;
- b) since they are intended for young readers it is likely that special attention will have been paid to the language used in them to ensure a suitable degree of clarity and comprehensibility;
- c) as a consequence of these two points the relationship between language and ideology is likely to be more clearly perceivable than in texts on less immediately "political" topics, and likewise any "gaps" in the ideology, in the sense of mismatches between ideology and reality, are likely to be more clearly discernible. Whilst our aim is not to seek out such mismatches (Good (1975:9)), it is in the nature of ideology that it represents to an extent a distorted/idealised version of reality (see our discussion below), and so discussions of any differences in the linguistic representations of the same aspect of external reality written from different ideological standpoints can provide insights into the way language and ideology interact.

We used a total of six school textbooks as the basis of our analysis, four from the GDR and two from the FRG. All are used by schoolchildren of the same age, ie roughly 13-16, and all are approved for use with children of varying degrees of academic ability. It was important to us to choose books which would be used by the average pupil, since it was felt that such books would be more "typical" than those intended for use in schools attended by only a minority of pupils, such as Berufsschulen or Sonderschulen (1). We were interested in the way language reflects ideology, and texts used for the express purpose of socialising young people into a particular ideology appeared eminently suitable for this purpose.

The GDR books used were those in the series Staatsbürgerkunde published between 1976 and 1977 by the Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag Berlin, and approved for use in classes 7-10 of the Allgemeinbildende Polytechnische Oberschule. The vast majority of GDR schoolchildren attend this type of school, and these books are used throughout the GDR.

The FRG books used were Becker et al: Thema Politik, Klett 1976, and Fischer: Gesellschaft und Politik, Metzler 1977. These books are approved for use in a series of Bundesländer and in a variety of school types:

Thema Politik: Berlin (general); Bremen (Gymnasium and Realschule); Saar (Realschule);

Gesellschaft und Politik: Bremen (Gymnasium and Realschule); Hesse (general); North-Rhine Westphalia (Gymnasium and Realschule).

It was felt that the types of schools for which these books were approved, and the general political complexions of the governments of the Länder involved, represented a sufficiently wide spread between academic and non-academic, SPD and CDU, and Stadtstaaten and Flächenstaaten for the books selected to be viewed as average and thus typical. It was not possible for reasons of time for us to take into account more FRG books, and it was not felt that this was necessary in view of the very wide readership to which approved school textbooks are exposed (2). The total number of pages in each set of textbooks is roughly equal: FRG 504, GDR 512. Since we were not aiming at any kind of statistical study, but simply at investigating the kind of language to which typical children are exposed, for the purpose of discussing ways in which language reflects ideology, we did not feel it necessary to attempt to investigate any more books. As Good writes:

Sprachliche Untersuchungen . . . erliegen häufig der Gefahr, nach absoluten Kriterien zu suchen in einem Bereich, in dem es sich letztlich nur um relative Unterschiede handeln kann. (Good (1975:10))

We were not seeking absolutes, but simply a suitable set of texts on which to base our analysis.

We discuss in a later section the important role played by textbooks in political education in both German states. The books used in the GDR are the only ones produced for that particular school type and provide the bulk of the material used in class; they represent the official standpoint of the state, and both their content and their form must meet the approval of the Ministerium für Volksbildung (Neuner et al (1976 522)). Each book is written by a collective, rather than a single individual; this ensures that no purely idiosyncratic views are expressed in the textbooks.

In the FRG schoolbooks are also usually compiled by a team of people,

but it is not uncommon to find books written by only two (examples include Monsheimer and Hilligen (1972); Grix and Knöll (1976); Greiffenhagen and Hättich (1979)) or even one person (examples include Giesecke (1976/8); Fischer (1977)). There is thus more scope for individual views to be expressed. Whilst all books that are used in schools must be approved by the respective education ministries, there is no one central ministry, and thus no one central point of view to which all must subscribe, although clearly the degree of ideological divergence between Bundesländer is only slight. The FRG textbooks selected as the basis of our analysis were reviewed at various times, either as a whole or with regard to their treatment of specific topics (see Bettien and Jacobi (1978); Böttcher (1978); Bömer-Wulff and Klaus (1978)). Some critics felt that neither book gave sufficient emphasis to the points of view of the workers and the unions (Bömer-Wulff and Klaus (1978: 590); Böttcher (1978) passim), but in general the books were found to be eminently suitable for use in schools. Thema Politik was singled out for praise for its clear and interesting layout (Bömer-Wulff and Klaus (1978:590)), and Gesellschaft und Politik for the amount of information it contains and the amount of freedom left to the individual teacher and class as to what use to make of it (3).

We were forced for reasons of space to make various assumptions and simplifications as preliminaries to our analysis. For instance, we assumed the textbooks which we selected for analysis to be representative of the Textsorte as a whole. We had to leave out of consideration all statistical issues, and all questions of the academic and linguistic abilities of the readers of the texts. We posited a typical group of receivers, of average intelligence and with average interest in the topic, and discuss the textbooks with the reactions of this group in mind. Any possible difficulties encountered by minorities with academic or linguistic problems had to be left out of account. Similarly, we took the language in the textbooks to be typical of the state from which they came, and ignored all social, regional and situational variations that would be encountered in real life. As Juhász writes:

Untersucht man die Sprache, so muß man sich also dessen bewußt sein, daß jede Feststellung, jedes Urteil über sie eine Idealisierung ist. Ihre Vergegenständlichung nimmt keine Rücksicht auf die Unterschiedlichkeit der einzelnen Psychen und der jeweiligen sozialen Situationen der Sprachteilhaber. (Juhász (1975:2)) (4)

In the context of ideology we likewise assumed that the ideologies of

the two German states are coherent and uniform within themselves, and that the ideology represented in the schoolbooks is that subscribed to both by the ruling elite and by the population at large. Dissident and revolutionary views, and also any variations on the majority view held by social, economic or ethnic subgroups had to be ignored, except insofar as they were represented in the textbooks and thus available for linguistic analysis. Our concern in the present thesis is to show ways in which ideology per se can be reflected in language, and not to illustrate varieties and gradations of particular ideologies. For this reason we believe the simplifications which we make to be justified (5).

With regard to the issue of the comparability of the two sets of texts themselves in terms of subject matter: we feel that this is to an extent of secondary importance, in that all the texts dealt with are clearly "ideological" and thus comparable on that level alone. However, on the level of subject matter we compare like with like as far as possible, and in fact the majority of the examples given in our analyses below are taken from the conceptual field of "work and the workers". We discuss this issue more fully in Part III.

Our investigation is a synchronic one. Whilst we deal at specific points with diachronic aspects of language, particularly since the Second World War, we are nonetheless basically concerned with the German language as it is used at present in the two German states. We are aware of the possible pitfalls of such an enterprise, in that all language is in a permanent state of flux (Juhász (1975:3)); however, simply in order to make the thesis manageable, a certain amount of simplification and idealisation was inevitable, and a diachronic investigation was neither possible nor desirable (6).

2 Language, society and consciousness

To understand language we examine the way in which the social structure is realised through language; how values are transmitted, roles defined and behaviour patterns made manifest.
(Halliday (1973:69))

Language is arguably the most important means available to individuals

and societies for the communication of information and views. In the present thesis we investigate, within the broad framework of the linguistic relativity hypothesis (Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis) the proposition that linguistic utterances reflect the ideology of the sender, and that a close analysis of the message can yield important insights into the nature and workings of that ideology. (We discuss our use of the term "ideology" below). We propose further that the ideology reflected in language need not only be that of an individual, but that the interaction between language and ideology is also found on the wider level of the social group as a whole. The two social groups with which we are concerned here are those represented by schoolchildren in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), and on the basis of written texts employed in the political socialisation of young people in schools in each state we discuss ways in which language can be seen to reflect ideology.

For Ammer, language is a kind of contrat social (Ammer (1961:18)) which evolves with and within a society, and which is binding on the individual members of that society. It is our view that language does not, however, simply develop by virtue of the existence of a particular society and continue to exist as a reflex of that society, but that language plays an important role as an instrument in the development of society as a whole and the integration of individuals into it; Hartung expresses this idea thus:

Die Sprache ist das wichtigste und grundlegende Kommunikationsmittel der menschlichen Gesellschaft. Im Prozeß der Menschwerdung aus der Notwendigkeit des Verkehrs der Menschen untereinander hervorgehend, wird die Sprache zu einem Mittel der Realisierung dieses Verkehrs. Gleichzeitig aber wird die Sprache zum Träger der bewußten Verallgemeinerung der Wirklichkeit und damit zu einem wichtigen Instrument bei der Aneignung der Wirklichkeit durch den Menschen, bei der Entwicklung und Vervollkommenung des Menschen und der Gesellschaft. (Hartung (1974:17)) (7)

Whether, as in the case of political language and propaganda, people consciously and deliberately aim to communicate their views or, as with less overtly political utterances, the ideological content is subordinated to a more immediately personal purpose, it is the case that both the propositional content of an utterance and also its syntactic patterning reflect to a large degree the views and opinions of the sender (8).

Kress's view of linguistic relativity, as expressed in the statement that "the grammar of a language is its theory of reality" (Kress/Hodge (1971) is not new: in the 19th century Humboldt and subsequently Weisgerber developed the idea that:

eine Nationalsprache die Geisteseigentümlichkeit eines Volkes repräsentiere, daß sie ein nur diesem Volk eigenes Weltbild enthalte, daß der Geist des Volkes und seine Sprache nicht identisch genug zu denken seien.
(Römer (1973:50-1); see also Kainz (1965:56f;161f;166f); Taylor (1976:293f))

Here the close identification of language and perception, and the uniqueness of each individual language's representation of the same chaotic and unordered external reality are stressed (9). This idea was also developed in the USA by Sapir, Whorf and their followers, and extended to include the shaping of an individual's ordering and thus perception of external reality by the language of the society in which he lives:

Language . . . not only refers to experience largely acquired without its help but actually defines experience for us by reason of its formal completeness and because of our unconscious projection of its implicit expectations into the field of experience . . . Such categories as number, gender, case tense . . . are not so much discovered in experience as imposed upon it because of the tyrannical hold that linguistic form has upon our orientation in the world. (Sapir (1931) in Sampson (1980:83)) (10)

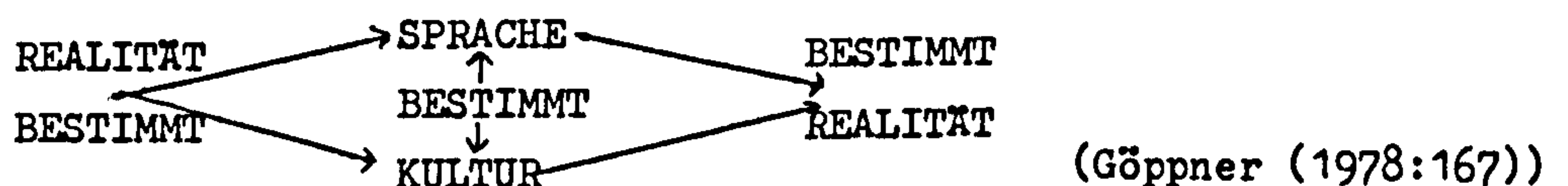
This kind of extreme view, in which the semantic and grammatical patterns of a language form a kind of mental straitjacket for the speakers of that language, with the result that they are not only unable to produce utterances that differ from the norm but also to conceptualise beyond the bounds of their syntax was portrayed by Orwell in 1984 (11). This view of course fails to take account of linguistic creativity, the ability of the speakers of a language to produce new utterances from the existing lexical and syntactic elements of the language, or to produce neologisms in order to fill any conceptual "gaps" in the language (Arnold and Sinemus (1974:113, 518); Fowler (1974:12); Schober (1974:40, 42); Aitchison (1976:124)). Whorf himself later amended his extreme view of linguistic determinism to one of linguistic relativism, postulating

eine sprach- bzw. kulturspezifische Konzeptualisierung der erfahrbaren Umwelt. (Arnold and Sinemus (1974:424). See also Gipper (1971:240, 248); Hartung (1974:187) on Lévy-Brühl and Marr; Zimmer (1980)).

As a result of work done in the areas of colour (see Henle (1958:7-8);

Ardener (1971:xxf); Schober (1974:40); Taylor (1976:290f); Lloyd (1977 passim) on Berlin and Kay and other central works in the field; Sampson (1980:96-102); Zimmer (1980 passim) and kinship terminology (see Ardener (1971:xxif)) it has become generally accepted that, despite the seductive allure of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis in its "hard" form (Gipper (1971 passim); Pinxten (1978:101f;203)), all concepts, whatever their level of abstraction, are potentially expressible in all languages (12), and that by extension the world-views contained in each language cannot be unique or mutually exclusive (see for example: Nida (1964:184-5); Nida and Taber (1969:4); Römer (1973:52); Taylor (1976:293-306); Göppner (1978:142)). This is not to say, however, that language is not affected by society or social considerations, or, indeed, that an individual's perception of phenomena is unaffected by language (13). Cultural considerations determine which terms occur most frequently and how the system is built up, rather than perceptual limitations on the speakers of particular languages, ie language is fundamentally a functional tool developed and used by speakers to suit their particular purposes. The multitude of sociolinguistic material produced in areas such as geographical and social dialect studies, situational modifications of language, diglossia etc bear witness to the intimate interconnections of particular languages with particular social situations (see for example: Hartung (1974:178f); Nikolskij (1975:719); Taylor (1976:301) and the massive literature on sociolinguistics), and in addition studies of the effects of propaganda and rhetoric show that language can have a profound effect on the receiver of the message (14).

Göppner has presented the interplay of language and society in diagrammatic form thus:



In the specific context of socialisation, which is of particular relevance to this thesis, Göppner writes:

Sprache vermittelt den Zugang zur gesellschaftlichen Realität, und zwar auf eine doppelte Weise, indem Sprache die Kommunikationspraxis, die gesellschaftliche Realität, hervorbringt, bestimmt und indem Sprache die Deutung dieser durch sprachbedingte Kommunikationspraxis hergestellte gesellschaftliche Realität bestimmt. In diesem Sinne wäre es ein wesentliches Ziel sozialer und politischer Sozialisation, die Übernahme des in einer Sprache

zur Verfügung gestellten Repertoires an sprachlichen
Ausdrucksmitteln zu bewerkstelligen (Göppner
(1978:168), emphasis in original) (15)

Marxists take a view of the relationship between language use and social reality that could also be termed "linguistic relativity", but based in this case on the divisions between social classes within one nation and across national boundaries, rather than between nations or other social groups. For a marxist a person's perception of external reality varies according to his social class and his consequent relationship to the means of production (see for example: W Schmidt (1969a:468); Albrecht (1971 passim); Christenson (1972:21); W Schmidt (1971:304f); W Schmidt (1972a:66-77); Carew Hunt (1969:58); Hartung (1974: introduction and 271); for a western view on this see Mueller (1973:43f)). This view has been most coherently developed by Mannheim and his sociology of knowledge (see Christenson (1972:22); Harris (1973: 89)).

These differing perceptions of reality are reflected in linguistic usage in what Höppner terms the Widerspiegelung sozialer Verhältnisse in der Sprache (Höppner (1971:246). See also Michel (1967:264); Kirchgäßner (1971:255); Jaeschke (1975:138)):

(es) sprechen, gerade weil wesentliche Bedeutungselemente bis zu konträrer Gegensätzlichkeit divergieren, Klassen-gegner in der Tat eine "verschiedene Sprache". (Höppner (1971:248)) (16)

This claim is frequently exemplified by Engels' discussion of the identification of property and personality in the bourgeois view of people in purely economic terms:

Die elende Sklaverei, in der das Geld den Bourgeois hält, ist durch die Bourgeoisieherrschaft selbst der Sprache aufgedrückt. Das Geld macht den Wert des Mannes aus; dieser Mann ist zehntausend Pfund wert . . . d.h. er besitzt sie. (Höppner (1971:247)) (17)

In the marxist view language does not, however, immutably determine perception, any more than a (working) class-based view of the world permanently limits the potential for action to change the class-system (DDR-Handbuch p 547); rather, people are involved in a dialectical relationship with language and society, being both the products and the creators of extra-linguistic reality as this is expressed in the relations of production:

Die Dialektik des Subjekt-Objekt-Verhältnisses besteht, auf eine kurze Formel gebracht, darin, daß das Subjekt (der Mensch) das Objekt (seine natürliche und soziale Umwelt) "produziert" und das Objekt (eben diese Umwelt) das Subjekt rückwirkend (über die Tätigkeit) determiniert. (Hartung (1974:199)) (18)

Moreover, marxists believe that langue and society are not directly connected, but are rather mediated by communication, ie the practical use that people as social beings make of language (see W Schmidt (1972a:65); Hartung (1974:74-5); Kofler (1977:47-8)). Language is one form of activity which demonstrates that people are not at the mercy of their material circumstances, but can act upon them independently once a sufficient level of consciousness has been achieved.

As a concomitant of this facility for autonomous thought and action, it is not always possible, according to marxist thought, to equate a particular class with a specific ideology; as Schmidt points out, Ideologiegebundenheit and Klassengebundenheit are not necessarily the same thing:

Ich schlage deshalb vor zu prüfen, ob man im Hinblick auf ganze terminologische Teilsysteme des Überbaus von Klassen-gebundenheit, in bezug auf die Sonderwortschätze und die einzelnen Fachwörter aus dem ideologischen Bereich zur genaueren Unterscheidung von Ideologiegebundenheit sprechen sollte . . . So gibt es zum Beispiel nicht wenige Angehörige der Arbeiterklasse, die im Widerspruch zu den wirklichen Interessen ihrer Klasse objektiv bürgerliche Klassenpositionen beziehen und bürgerliche Klasseninteressen vertreten, weil sie dem Einfluß der bürgerlichen Ideologie unterlegen sind. (W Schmidt (1969a:462), emphasis in original; see also Pêcheux (1982:98)).

For the purposes of the present thesis we ignore all such subdivisions within each ideology as stated above, and proceed as if both GDR and FRG each have a single uniform ideology.

Socialist consciousness, the theoretical expression of which is marxism-leninism (hereafter ML) is seen as both the result of the economic and social conditions of the working class, and also the tool with which they are to improve and transform these conditions as part of the progression towards a classless society (Jaeschke (1975:5); Kinne and Strube-Edelmann (1980:187)). (We return to the issue of socialist consciousness in more detail below). This view of consciousness or mind as something almost tangible and definitely malleable is central to ML thinking (see Ammer (1961:42)); whilst denying any kind of religious overtones to the concept of mind as soul, which would smack

of bourgeois idealism, marxists emphasise the material origin of consciousness, ie economic conditions, whilst conceding the ultimately non-material nature of it (Hartung (1974:32); Wetter (1965:37, 48-9)) The concrete expression of socialist consciousness is adherence to ML and the conscious furthering of the cause of socialism. Socialist consciousness is not, however, conferred automatically on all members of the working class or even of socialist society:

(es) muß durch politisch-ideologische Schulung bei den Werktätigen und vor allem bei der Jugend (weiter) entwickelt werden. (Kinne and Strube-Edelmann (1980:187); see also Hartung (1974:440)).

The main way of achieving this development is clearly through the use of language, as we discuss in the section on political socialisation through language below.

Marxists believe that the bourgeois view of social reality reflects the class-interests of the ruling elite, and the language used by this elite to communicate their views is seen as

bloß idealisierende Phrasen, bewußte Illusion, absichtliche Heuchelei (Höppner (1971:246); see also ibid, p 248; Kirchgäßner (1971:259); Hartung (1974:20-1)),

ie although the bourgeoisie in capitalist society realises that its perception of reality is wrong, it nonetheless attempts to perpetuate it by means of language in order to maintain its position of power. The working class on the other hand, as a result of its relationship to the means of production, perceives social and economic reality in a different and accurate way (19). This "correct" ideology is expressed through the language used by the working class, and is particularly important in the political sphere where the spreading and consolidating of the ML ideology is central (20).

There exists a great body of work from both marxist and non-marxist sources on the close interconnections between language and perception, language and thought, and the relationship between these and extra-linguistic reality (21). The view taken of language in the present thesis is that whilst it cannot irrevocably condition thought and perception, in that individuals possess the ability to reason beyond the confines of material with which they are presented or to formulate individual expressions and points of view, it is nonetheless the case that the language in which information is initially presented to receivers can have a crucial influence on their perception of and

attitude towards that information (see Hartung (1974:450f)). If the receiver is not predisposed or encouraged to reflect independently on the information provided, both on the denotative and the connotative levels, then it is likely that he will accept and absorb the information offered together with any evaluations implicit in the original formulation, and later reproduce these as his own view. We discuss below the role of the texts analysed in the respective education systems of the two German states, and the attitude which the reader is encouraged to adopt towards them; the effects of these differing approaches on the psyches of the schoolchildren involved is an issue on which we can only speculate.

3 The term "ideology" as used in this thesis

We discuss in the next section the issue of political socialisation; this can be briefly summarised as the initiation of young people into the ideology subscribed to by the socialisers. In this section we discuss our use of the term "ideology", which we employ in Kress's sense of

a systematic body of ideas, organised from a particular point of view. Ideology is thus a subsuming category which includes sciences and metaphysics, as well as political ideologies of various kinds, without implying anything about their status and reliability as guides to reality. (Kress and Hodge (1979:6)) (22)

We are concerned with the socialisation of young people into the political aspects of their state's ideology: acceptable attitudes towards the government, the political system, work, the distribution of wealth, etc. However, these topics overlap to a great extent with less immediately "political" topics such as education, the rights of minority groups, free time, etc. According to the definition given above, these latter topics also come within the compass of ideology. We feel that it is neither possible nor desirable in the present thesis to differentiate between ideological and non-ideological beliefs, or indeed to set up a hierarchy of the "more" or "less" ideological, as is frequently done by writers on ideology such as Uledow, who differentiates

verschiedene "Sphären des gesellschaftlichen Bewußtseins"
. . . von denen die Ideologie als "Selbstbewußtsein"

einer Klasse, sozialen Gruppe, der Gesellschaft neben der Wissenschaft und der "gesellschaftlichen Psychologie als Massenbewußtsein" genannt wird. (Uledow (1972:136f) quoted in Fleischer (1977:26)) (23)

Uhlig discusses and rejects the proposition that western industrialised societies are living in a post-ideological age; we align ourselves with his statement that

in der heutigen Gesellschaft mit ihren pluralistischen Interessen und Interessengegensätzen zieht ein Weniger an Hochideologie keineswegs ein Weniger an Ideologie an sich nach sich. Vielmehr tritt an die Stelle der jahrzehntelang herrschenden Hochideologien eine uniforme Ideologie, die dadurch charakterisiert scheint, daß der Verzicht auf programmatische Weltanschauungen, der vor allem durch die Geschichtsprozesse der letzten Jahrzehnte generiert und beschleunigt wurde, durch die "Präparierung und Zurichtung einer formierten Mentalität" abgelöst ist. (Uhlig (1972: 49) quoting Lenk (1970:17); see similarly Mueller (1973: 3-4))

Römer's definition of ideology as:

Wertsysteme und Werterklärungen, gleich, ob es sich dabei um richtiges oder falsches Bewußtsein handelt, aus dem sie entspringen (Römer (1973:56))

is also relevant to our interpretation of the term: the normative/judgemental aspect of ideology plays an important role in the development of solidarity among subscribers to the ideology, and ensures that they will strive to maintain the ideology (Henle (1958:3); Berger and Luckmann (1967:141-2); Lübke (1967:356f); Hartung (1969:495); Ellul (1973:116); Mueller (1973:102); Ryan (1979:470)). Ideologies do not only provide explanations of reality (Christenson's "cognitive structure" (Christenson (1972:14))), but also prescribe how people should behave, and beyond that how they should feel on encountering that reality: they give a "sense of certainty and security" (Christenson (1972:15)) and "self-identification" (Christenson (1972:17)), as a result of which people "'see' selectively" and act in accordance with the "prescriptive formula" (Christenson (1972:15); see also Pêcheux (1982:110-111)) contained in the ideology. Easton writes that ideologies

have the potential, because they are articulated as a set of ethically infused ideals, to capture the imagination . . . From an expressive point of view we may see them as ideals capable of rousing and inspiring men to action. (Easton (1965:290) quoted in Christenson (1972:9)) (24)

For some writers this desire of the dominant group to maintain the status

quo is one of the defining features of ideology, even if it involves using force:

L'Appareil_{à la répression} (repressif) d'état fonctionne de façon massive-ment prévalente_{à la répression} (y compris physique) tout en fonctionnant secondairement à l'idéologie . . . Les Appareils idéologiques d'Etat fonctionnent de façon massivement prévalente à l'idéologie, mais tout en fonctionnant secondairement à la répression. (Althusser (1970:14); see also ibid p 6-7, 35; Lockwood (1956:935); Berger and Luckmann (1967:14); Christenson (1972:4, 10, 20); Ammon (1973:97-8))

In our view this is an unnecessarily negative and limited use of the term "ideology". It is our belief that an ideology can be held by any group in society whether dominant or not. It is purely coincidental that in this thesis we deal only with the respective dominant ideologies of the two German states. We also do not accept Christenson's statement that ideologies only come into existence in times of crisis (Christenson (1972:9)); in our definition they can exist at all times, although admittedly possibly becoming more clearly defined and delineated in times of crisis. In addition, we follow Kress in using the term "ideology" in a neutral and non-evaluative sense. We attach to it neither the pejorative connotations it has in general western usage and in the writings of Marx and some of his present-day followers (25), nor the generally positive connotations of USSR usage (26). Moreover, the issue of the correctness or otherwise of the ideological beliefs and concepts considered lies outside the scope of our discussion.

Whilst we take into account the view expressed by Marx and Engels and largely accepted by their followers today that class-interests (ultimately reducible to the economic structure of society), and indeed other aspects of self-interest not immediately related to one's class position, (see Althusser (1970:6-7, 20-1); Hartung (1974:271)), can and do influence people's views of the world (see W Schmidt (1969a:463-4); Althusser (1970:22f, 25); Fleischer (1971:9); Edelman (1972:26); Mueller (1973:102); Ryan (1979:470)), the degree of distortion involved in this process and the accuracy of the reflection of external reality contained in any particular ideology are again topics with which it is not necessary or possible for us to deal here. We acknowledge Putnam's point (Putnam (1970:6)) that simply offering a definition of the term 'ideology' does not constitute an analysis of it, and set it aside with the justification that we are investigating not ideology itself, but the language in which it is couched. We do not attempt to discuss the

respective ideologies of the GDR and the FRG as a whole, nor do we offer any evaluation of them; only where particular ideological features are dealt with in a linguistically interesting or remarkable way do we give a brief account of that aspect of the ideology. For the rest, the focus of our attention lies with the language of the texts under investigation.

4 Political socialisation through language

The two states which have developed on the territory of the former German Reich since the Second World War subscribe to fundamentally differing political, economic and social ideologies. Both states are concerned to ensure the continuation of their respective political systems into the future, and the initiation of children and young adults into the prevailing ideology via political education in schools is in both states one of the most important vehicles for gaining the allegiance and active support of the younger generation for that ideology. As will become clear in the course of our discussion, becoming a full member of society in either state involves not only knowing sufficient facts and behaving in an acceptable fashion, but also in varying degrees acquiring a particular kind of language which, when used appropriately, indicates one's adherence and commitment to existing social and political mores.

4.1 Political socialisation

4.1.1 Socialisation

In its broadest sense the term "socialisation" can be taken to denote the development in the child, under the supervision of adults, of patterns of behaviour which enable the child to function adequately in society:

Der Begriff Sozialisation umfaßt alle erzieherischen Maßnahmen, die von Elternhaus, Schule, Religionsgemeinschaften, Ausbildungsstätten usw. getroffen werden. Er meint aber auch Prägungen, die vom "Milieu", vom sozialen und räumlichen Umfeld, von Massenmedien, öffentlicher Meinung usw. ausgehen. (Hesse, Entwurf (1976:41)) (27)

The precise nature of the process of socialisation is a matter of some controversy, the discussion centring around the issue as to whether

children are brought to behave in a socially acceptable fashion by means of a kind of conditioned reflex based on a system of rewards and punishments, or whether a less mechanistic/behaviourist model is needed, whereby the child plays a much more active role in the process, and his behaviour is governed more by reflection than by simple reflexes. Marxist educationists in the GDR take the latter view of socialisation as a dialectical process involving active participation by both the society and the child; this view can be summed up in Turchenko's definition of socialisation as:

the process of inclusion of the growing generation into the system of social roles determined by the socio-economic structure of a given society by means of the active assimilation and development of the existing system of values and norms of behaviour. (O'Dell (1978:47)) (28)

There are various views within contemporary western theory as to the precise nature of the socialisation process. It is not however necessary for the purposes of our present thesis to evaluate in detail these views or to subscribe to any particular one of them. For our present purposes a very general definition of socialisation can be distilled from the positions which Göppner summarises (29), whereby socialisation can be seen as the development in young people of the views and customs of the socialisers; this includes what Göppner calls "kognitive Sozialisierung" (Göppner (1978:146)) or, as Musgrave puts it:

New recruits must be taught the accepted ways of behaviour within the group. (Musgrave (1963:20). See also Anger (1969:84); Mueller (1973:86f); Priesemann (1977:108f))

4.1.2 Political socialisation

Once a child has achieved a certain level of knowledge and ability ("primary" or "basic socialisation") (see Nyssen (1973:45)), the process of "secondary socialisation" begins, usually via the school (30); in this process knowledge is imparted which, whilst not necessary for immediate physical survival, enables the individual to participate more fully in the social life of society and possibly to move up the social hierarchy. Political education, or political socialisation, which takes place largely through the medium of language (31), falls into this category of secondary socialisation.

The purpose of political socialisation in any society or social subgroup is to transmit to the younger generation an understanding of and

an emotional commitment to the political beliefs of the adult generation and to ensure the continuation and success of those beliefs in the future. This is the case whether the socialisation is carried out by pro-establishment agencies wishing to maintain the status quo, or by opposition or revolutionary groups aiming at changes in the political sphere (32). Political socialisation involves not just the learning of facts, but also the assimilation of value-judgements and the development of emotively, rather than cognitively, based attitudes which, taken together, are regarded by the socialisers as representing those of a "true citizen" (33). This issue of Bewußtseinsbildung (34) occupies a large part of the literature on political socialisation. Christenson writes on this topic:

Every society is invaded from within by successive waves of barbarians - new generations who must be taught appropriate social behaviour. It is through ideology that new members are instilled with the ideas and ideals that define permitted and prohibited goals and expectations, that create feelings of common identification and allegiance, that anchor members in the social order, and that build and sustain a nation. Ideology, then, is the code of induction into society, with socialisation as the means of induction. (Christenson (1972: 16-17)) (35)

Whilst acceptable behaviour is one of the major aims of political socialisation, manifesting itself in the individual's listening to political speeches, voting in elections and possibly becoming politically active himself, even more important is the emotional side of political commitment. We return to this issue later in Part I.

4.2 The role of language in political socialisation

We have already discussed the close interrelationship of the language used by a society and that society's perception of extra-linguistic reality. Political socialisation is the creation in the younger generation of an acceptable view of the world, and the medium through which this occurs is overwhelmingly language, whether spoken or written:

Sprache ist ein Mittel sozialer Kontrolle par excellence: . . . vor allem dadurch, daß nicht bloße linguistische Formen erworben werden, daß vielmehr die Kultur einer Gesellschaft (das ist ihre Selbst- und Realitätsinterpretation) sprachlich wird . . .; dabei existiert die Wirklichkeit nicht "außerhalb" der Sprache, sondern wird durch sie erst hergestellt. (Göppner (1978:166). See also Mueller (1973:13); Bachem (1979:44f))

Clearly, then, the language received by young people during the process

of political socialisation is, from the point of view of lexis, syntax and semantics, of central importance: the version of reality presented in the language must be ideologically acceptable, if this is the version of reality that is to be transmitted to and adopted by the younger generation:

Language and socialisation mediate the success of a political system's claim to legitimacy. (Mueller (1973:11)) (36)

Marxist writers are well aware of the role played by language in socialisation in general and in political socialisation in particular (37). In the specific context of political education in schools in the GDR great emphasis is laid on the pupils not only learning the informational content of texts, but also the requisite emotive attitude that is to be taken towards them, and which is conveyed through language. Jaeschke deals with this Einheit von ideologischer Beeinflussung und sprachlicher Befähigung, and quotes the following statement from W Schmidt:

Die Sprache ist wichtigstes Medium für die Vermittlung von Ideologie; auch die Geschichtsfälschungen erscheinen sprachlich fixiert. Um sie zu durchschauen, ihren "Wahrheitsgehalt" bloßzulegen, müssen sie auch sprachlich, von der Wahl des Einzelwortes her, vom Syntagma bis hin zum geschlossenen Kontext durchforscht und durchdrungen werden. (Jaeschke (1975:10), quoting W Schmidt (1969d:580)) (38)

In the marxist view schoolchildren are to be made aware of language in two different contexts: firstly they must learn to "see through" the language used in imperialist states and to recognise its "manipulative nature; secondly, they are taught to adopt the special language of ML for the expression of their own views, and great weight is placed not only on the pupils giving the correct answer to questions, but also on their ability to express themselves in ideologically acceptable language (39). This attitude to the pupils' language in classwork contrasts strikingly with that commonly found in the FRG, where the issue is very rarely mentioned at all (see below).

Among non-marxist sociologists and linguists there is a general awareness of the role played by language in socialisation and the influence of it on the perception of the socialisee. Thus Berger and Luckmann write:

I apprehend the reality of everyday life as an ordered reality. Its phenomena are prearranged in patterns that seem to be

independent of my apprehension of them and that impose themselves upon the latter. The reality of everyday life appears already objectified, that is, constituted by an order of objects that have been designated as objects before my appearance on the scene. The language used in everyday life continually provides me with the necessary objectifications and posits the order within which these make sense and within which everyday life has meaning for me . . . Language marks the coordinates of my life in society and fills that life with meaningful objects. (Berger and Luckmann (1967:35-6))

Similarly, Kress writes:

. . . Language, which is given by society, determines which perceptions are potentially social ones. These perceptions, fixed in language, become a kind of second nature. We inevitably impose our classifications on others, and on ourselves. (Kress and Hodge (1979:5); see also Edelman (1977: 61))

Western educationists, however, whilst aware of the potential power of language in the form of propaganda (see below), pay little heed to these insights in their recommendations for the writing of school text-books. They are for the most part concerned with the content of the books on a purely factual level, and warn against bias and prejudice on the level of what is included in pedagogic texts. However, they overlook or are unaware of, on any but the simplest level, the importance of precisely how this content is presented (see Nitzschke (1966:276); Nyssen (1973:7)). A great deal of attention is paid to the language of political extremism, usually exemplified by National Socialism and Communism, and emphasis is laid on the importance of making pupils aware of the possible consequences of an uncritical acceptance of this type of language (Heller (1974:62); Dieterich (1976) *passim*). Similarly, the language of advertising is frequently mentioned as an example of "manipulative" language. However, whilst there is continual emphasis on the need for "kritisches Lesen" of this type of text (40), specifically linguistic analyses of texts are rarely recommended (41). The language of the school books themselves is also very rarely mentioned in this connection (42). Discussions are more frequent as to whether the language of the text-books is too complicated or too boring (see for example Messelken (N D); Rosen (1972); Rumpf (1979); Schmerder and Tausch (1978)). Relatively few writers discuss specifically the linguistic content of the school books with regard to the possibility of their containing ideological pre-suppositions which are not problematised or questioned; what few discussions there are represent for the most part a left-wing viewpoint, as for example the examination by Bettien and Jacobi of the language

used in school-books to describe Mitbestimmung (Bettien and Jacobi (1978), esp p 695), or a feminist/anti-sexist view, as in Rauch's discussion of gender- and role-patterns in English text-books used in FRG schools (Rauch (1977), esp p 74). Jeismann regards school-books as an important weapon in the struggle for international cooperation, understanding and peace (Jeismann (1979:11)); for the achieving of this aim he regards the contents of the books as so much more important than the language in which they are written that he virtually disregards the latter.

One reason for this relative lack of importance attached to the language of school-books by FRG educationists may lie in the role played by the school-book itself in the teaching process. Unlike in the GDR, where all schools of one type use the same texts, and all texts contain material that is to be accepted and learned, teachers in the FRG have an extremely wide range of books from which to choose, as well as other teaching materials; moreover, within the basic framework of the Grundgesetz there is no one particular ideological point of view that has to be represented all the time, and the book can be used simply as a starting point for discussion and may if desired be disagreed with. Jeismann discusses this aspect of work with the books, and questions the importance of the linguistic make-up of the texts for the learner:

. . . man würde sich sehr täuschen, wenn man die unausgesprochene Hypothese aller Schulbucharbeit weiter unbefragt hinnähme, daß die Schulbuchformulierungen sich unmittelbar und ungebrochen in Vorstellungs- und Bewußtseinsinhalte umsetzen. (Jeismann (1979:12)) (43)

Our own hypothesis is that the form of the language in the textbook can be of central importance, particularly in the GDR situation, where there is much repetition of phrases and structures, and where the pupils are expected to reproduce for themselves the views expressed in the textbook. In the FRG, where there is less uniformity of texts, less repetition within texts, and no explicitly prescribed view to be adopted, it is admittedly less likely that the pupils will all adopt any particular formulation presented in the text. It is however our contention that the form of the language in which a topic is first presented to a reader is of central importance in influencing the initial attitude of that reader to the topic and may continue to influence his view of it for some considerable time.

It emerges from the above discussion that there is in both German states a recognition that language occupies an important position in the political life of a society, notwithstanding the differing weight accorded to this insight and the consequently differing emphases laid on the creation and maintenance of ideologically acceptable linguistic presentations of reality. In the light of the ML belief in a dialectical relationship between language and consciousness, and the consequent emphasis in the GDR on educating schoolchildren to react to particular utterances in a particular way and to shape their own utterances in accordance with ideological requirements, it is likely that the language of the GDR school textbooks will have been subjected to close scrutiny. In contrast, the FRG books are less likely to have been examined so closely on this level, since FRG pedagogues place greater weight on the content of the books and, as we discuss below, on the provision of a variety of perspectives, both ideological and linguistic, on each topic.

This difference in the amount of attention that is likely to have been paid to the language in the two sets of textbooks in our corpus does not represent an obstacle to our aim of investigating the nature of ideological language: it is in a sense immaterial whether a text has been written spontaneously or only after long and deep reflection on its linguistic structure, in that, we believe, the linguistic structures of a message point to the ideological beliefs of the sender in almost all cases, unless that sender is making a concerted and linguistically sophisticated effort to disguise his beliefs. In this thesis we are not concerned with such texts, but rather with those which set out to describe and transmit an ideology in as clear and unambiguous a way as possible. What we find in the course of our investigation is, in fact, that, however genuine the desire on the part of the socialisers to transmit a clear and desirable picture of particular topics, there are areas in the ideologies of both German states where a linguistic analysis, involving a close scrutiny of vague or obfuscatory formulations, can reveal contradictions or, at least, inconsistencies. This detailed analysis constitutes Part III; as a preliminary we now present a discussion of the overall functional framework within which the texts forming our corpus operate.

5 Political education in FRG and GDR

We have discussed above the view that ideological beliefs are reflected in language use, and that the form of utterances can to an extent influence receivers' perceptions of extralinguistic reality. In this section we discuss how the basic ideologies of the two German states find expression in their respective education systems. We argue that the GDR system represents an essentially "closed universe", in the sense that the roles of pupils, teachers and textbooks are clearly defined and delimited, and the details as to what is to be taught are precisely laid down, and are binding. This reflects the ML belief in the malleability of consciousness discussed earlier (44). The FRG system in contrast, as a result of its stated belief in pluralism, is much less tightly structured and permits a greater degree of choice to pupils and teachers with regard to what is taught, how it is taught and how it is evaluated; similarly, the textbook has a radically different function from that of its GDR counterpart. These differences between the education systems are an expression of the respective world-views of the two German states; we demonstrate in Part III how these differing views on the aims, content and methodology of political education are reflected in the language of the school textbooks, which we show to belong to different basic text-types.

The organisation of the contemporary education systems in the two German states reflects their fundamentally differing views on the nature of democracy and the ideal administrative and legislative structure of the state: the GDR has a centrally-run education system which ensures that the vast majority of children study the same topics to the same level on the basis of the same material (see Anweiler et al (1976:60-75); Günther and Uhlig (1974); Hartung (1974)), whilst the FRG has no central education ministry in charge of the entire education system, and no single binding education policy for the whole state, the choice as to the type of schools to be developed and the books to be used in them being the responsibility of the individual Länder (see Schäfer (1976: 41-59); Childs and Johnson (1981:110-134); see Brandis (1974) for a comparison of FRG and GDR education). Parallel to these contrasting education systems are similarly contrasting views on the aims and methodology of teaching in general and political education in particular: in the GDR all pupils in normal state schools are taught the same facts

and encouraged to develop the same opinions as part of the development in them of socialist consciousness and recognition of the correctness of and consequent support for the policies of the SED; in the FRG, on the other hand, great importance is laid on the presentation to the pupils of a variety of interpretations of a situation or topic, and on encouraging them to form their own opinions as part of the development in them of a belief in a pluralist society, which claims to defend the independence of the individual in thought, word and deed (45). Our discussion below of published guidelines on political education and of the debate concerning this topic, particularly in the FRG, illustrates how these fundamentally different starting points find expression in the overall organisation of the education systems. However, a discussion of how these theoretical aims are realised in practice and the results they achieve goes beyond the framework of the present thesis.

5.1 The GDR

The education system of the GDR is modelled on that of the Soviet Union, and was founded during the post-war occupation of the present GDR by the USSR. Its fundamental aim is the consolidation and further development of socialist society:

Mit dem einheitlichen sozialistischen Bildungssystem sichert die Deutsche Demokratische Republik allen Bürgern eine den ständig steigenden gesellschaftlichen Erfordernissen entsprechende hohe Bildung. Sie befähigt die Bürger, die sozialistische Gesellschaft zu gestalten und an der Entwicklung der sozialistischen Demokratie schöpferisch mitzuwirken. (Verfassung der DDR, article 17, 2)

This is to be achieved by the development in the pupils of the socialist personality, which recognises the inevitability of worldwide progress towards socialism and communism and desires to work for the achievement of this. In the specific context of the GDR the development of the socialist personality involves also the development of national consciousness, which regards the GDR as das sozialistische Vaterland and completely separate from the FRG (46).

Pupils in the GDR are encouraged to regard their school class as a collective, and to work together to ensure that all members reach the required standard - strong pupils are encouraged and expected to help their weaker classmates when they experience difficulties (see Gesetz, para 5.5; Meier (1974:242)), and competition on an individual level is

not generally encouraged. Duties are stressed more than rights (Anweiler (1976:64); Meier (1974:239)) and the school class is seen more as a collective than as a group of individuals (Meier (1974:244)). This contrasts markedly with the Leistungsprinzip common in the FRG, where each individual pupil is expected to strive to achieve optimal results, and those failing to fulfil the Klassenziel are regarded as personal failures rather than the result of a weakness in the system. In the GDR uniform timetables and the use throughout the state of the same teaching materials are intended to ensure that all pupils receive the same education, and thus the same opportunities on leaving school (47).

In the present thesis we are concerned with the political education of the majority of children in the GDR in the main type of school, the Zehnklassige Polytechnische Oberschule; this is attended by all pupils except the mentally and physically disabled and some particularly gifted children. In particular we are concerned with political education in the Mittelstufe, classes 7-10, ie that teaching to which the vast majority of pupils are exposed before they either leave school or progress to more advanced work, and which can be regarded as the norm for anyone educated in the GDR system.

With regard to political education, which is part of social science teaching, the text of the GDR Education Law runs in part as follows:

Im gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Unterricht sind den Schülern historische und politische Kenntnisse zu vermitteln. Sie sind an die Erkenntnis der Gesetzmäßigkeit der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung heranzuführen und zum selbständigen Denken zu erziehen. Die bei der politisch-ideologischen Entwicklung der Schüler der Mittelstufe auftretenden Fragen zu aktuellen politischen Ereignissen sind in allen Fächern, besonders im gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Unterricht, aufzugreifen und dem Alter der Schüler entsprechend verständlich und überzeugend zu klären. (Gesetz, para 15) (48)

These beliefs apply to the whole of the GDR education system, and it is intended and expected that they will be adopted by the school-children themselves. This is all done largely through the medium of language, of which Mueller writes as follows:

Today an efficiently organised control apparatus assures that a socialist version of the German language is administered to the population through the mass media and educational institutions. . . . Since the semantic space

is abundantly structured by predefinitions, the individual is barred from evolving his own interpretations. (Mueller (1973:40))

We return to this issue throughout the thesis, particularly in the section on Testability.

Politics teaching in schools is carried out under the title Staatsbürgerkunde, ie the emphasis is on learning how to become a "good citizen", conforming to the status quo and not attempting to criticise or undermine the existing system. The subject occupies one hour per week in classes 7-9, and two hours per week in class 10 (Brandis (1974:531); Neuner et al (1976:93); Roland and Hennig (1977:40f)). This is, however, by no means the only time when schoolchildren are exposed to political ideas and discussions: the formal lessons which take place in the Mittelstufe are intended firstly to formalise and actualise in the minds of the pupils the basic beliefs and attitudes to which they have been exposed since Kindergarten (Gesetz, para 11, 2; Schmitt (1978:43)), and then to develop on the basis of these a more detailed and systematic knowledge of ML, the socialist state, the socialist community, etc. Moreover, all spheres of a child's life are regarded as potential contributors to his political education, and care is taken by the authorities to ensure that each sphere complements and reinforces the others, and that the children are exposed to as few contradictory influences as possible (49).

All such influences are believed to interact and contribute to the development of the socialist personality, which combines an emotional attachment to socialism, the scientific and objective knowledge of the world which accompanies it, and the perception of reality from an ML standpoint with the ability to argue from and convince others of the rightness of that standpoint (DDR Handbuch: 264f; Feige (1975:95); Neuner et al (1976:23-4)). The key element in the socialist personality is socialist consciousness, which consists of the following seven features:

- 1 Die Überzeugung von der historischen Mission der Arbeiterklasse;
- 2 Die Überzeugung vom objektiven Charakter der Entwicklung in Natur und Gesellschaft;
- 3 Die Überzeugung von der Gewißheit, daß die Zukunft der ganzen Menschheit der Sozialismus ist;
- 4 Die Überzeugung von der historischen Aufgabe der DDR und der Verantwortung der Jugend bei der Gestaltung des entwickelten gesellschaftlichen Systems des Sozialismus;

- 5 Die Überzeugung von der entscheidenden Rolle der ruhmreichen Sowjetunion und der sozialistischen Staatsgemeinschaft in der weltweiten Auseinandersetzung zwischen Sozialismus und Imperialismus;
 - 6 Die Überzeugung, daß Demokratie, Freiheit und Menschlichkeit nur dort gesichert sind, wo das werktätige Volk unter der Führung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei die politische Macht ausübt;
 - 7 Die Überzeugung, daß die Jugend ihres eigenen Glückes Schmied ist, indem sie die Rechte und Pflichten gegenüber der sozialistischen Gesellschaft bewußt wahrnimmt.
- (DDR Handbuch: 264); see also Becker et al (1963:70); Hanhardt (1970:7); Brandis (1974:528, 537); Schmitt (1978:36-8))

It is the aim of political education in schools and elsewhere to ensure the development of the above characteristics in young people, thus assuring the continued development of the GDR and the socialist community in general towards the ultimate aim of communism and a classless society.

This belief in the possibility of developing personality by outside forces rather than the personality developing itself from within rests on the belief discussed above that a person's perception of the world and his behaviour in it is dependent on his class-position: if the young people of the GDR are brought up in a state where the working class is in control, where exploitation has been removed and there are no obstacles in the way of further development towards the ideal society, then inevitably, it is believed, they will perceive the correctness of the way the state is run and do all they can to support it and further its aims (50).

5.1.1 Parteilichkeit

Central to ML thought in all spheres, including education, is the concept of Parteilichkeit (51); in the context of education this means not only that all materials should be presented from the standpoint of the working class, but beyond that a conscious training of the pupils to judge events and people from that standpoint (52), to phrase their responses in ideologically sound and acceptable language, to counter capitalist and imperialist arguments with well-rehearsed ML arguments of their own (53), and above all to believe passionately in what they are saying and doing. Teachers set an example by living and working in a parteilich way (see Fleischer (1977:72)), Pioneer and FDJ groups provide the pupils with the opportunity to practise this way of living for themselves, parents are encouraged to cooperate with both schools and youth groups and confirm and reinforce their ML teachings and way

of life in the home.

It is important in the view of GDR pedagogues not that the pupils should be taught caution in the face of ideologically coloured texts as is the case in the FRG, but that on the contrary they should react to them in a way which conforms with ML doctrine and

allen Tendenzen einer "Entideologisierung" des wissenschaftlichen Fachunterrichts in unserer sozialistischen Schule entgegen(wirkt). (Neuner et al (1976:47)) (54)

Despite this concern there is, as in the case of the FRG, no attempt to encourage the pupils to undertake a specifically linguistic investigation of the texts (55). We return to this issue below.

Parteilichkeit is not simply a way of teaching, it is a way of life, and central to it is the concept of the uniting of science and emotion (Neuner et al (1976:132)), the combining of factual knowledge with the evaluation of that knowledge and application of it from a particular point of view. The importance of emotion in political education is stressed continually, the teaching of ML being a battle for hearts as well as minds:

Generell gilt . . . , daß bei wesentlichen Erkenntnissen, vor allem aber bei Erkenntnissen auf politisch-ideologischem Gebiet, emotionale Momente notwendig sind, daß das rational sichere und logische Erfassen des Wesentlichen durch tiefe Erlebnisse verstärkt und persönlichkeitswirksam gemacht werden muß. (Neuner et al (1976:132)) (56)

Not only are the pupils presented with facts from only one point of view, which they are told is the only correct one, but the facts themselves are presented in an emotive way to encourage the pupils to identify with them (57). It is not only the content of pedagogic texts which is important (Neuner et al (1976:73, 264-73)), but also the linguistic form of those texts (see Feige et al (1975:252-3) on the language of classical ML documents and their use in class). Emotive involvement is of great importance in ML teaching, but it is not sought at the expense of rational thought: like the Einheit von Wissenschaftlichkeit und Parteilichkeit and the Einheit von Wissenschaft und Ideologie, there is a link established between Verstand and Gefühl (Neuner et al (1976:90); see also *ibid*, p 40, 273; Michel (1967:271); Lehrplan, Klasse 7:7). These interact, emotion evoking the desire to know more, and increased knowledge strengthening emotive convictions; this is the Wechselwirkung von Rationalem und Emotionalem (Feige (1975: 252f); Neuner et al (1976:132f)).

Marxist linguists stress the importance of emotive language in general, and particularly in political texts, since it ensures the effectiveness of those texts in communicating their contents; thus Schmidt and Harnisch analyse eg the interplay of the Begriffskomponente, Wertungs- und emotionale Komponenten in words such as Alleinvertretungsanmaßung, Revanche, Kriegshetze, etc (Schmidt and Harnisch (1972:92-3)). Similarly, Schmidt investigates the Ideologiegebundenheit der politischen Lexik; part of this is the

Bestimmung von Nebensinn und Gefühlswert des Ausdrucks . . .
und Feststellung von Bedeutungselementen wertenden Charak-
ters. (W Schmidt (1969a:465))

Hartung differentiates between the informational function of language, which can include misinformation and the manipulation of individuals through the use of emotive language, and what he terms the Steuerungsfunktion of language, which directs the behaviour of people as a whole (Hartung (1969:488)). Harnisch lists six elements of meaning of the term Erziehung and finds evaluative components in two of them (Harnisch (1974:69)). (58)

The emotive and evaluative nature of political education itself is emphasised in all documents relating to it in the GDR, and these themselves contain much emotive and evaluative language. The introduction to the Lehrplan for the 7th class, ie the first class in which Staatsbürgerkunde is taught, lists the emotions that are to be awakened in the pupils in the course of the lessons; these include:

Stolz auf das sozialistische Vaterland;
Liebe zur Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei;
Freundschaft zur Sowjetunion;
Abscheu und Haß gegenüber den Imperialisten und Militaristen
(Lehrplan, Klasse 7:6; our emphasis)

Brandis (1974:528) similarly discusses the importance of the Feindbild and hatred of imperialism. The process of evoking these emotions begins in the first lesson and continues throughout the course. Other contexts where emotions are called for include:

the founding of the SED:

Bei der Gestaltung der Höhepunkte der Stoffeinheit . . .
kommt es darauf an, emotional betonte Erlebnisse für die
Schüler zu schaffen, die historische Rolle der SED und der
Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Macht zu würdigen. (Lehrplan, Klasse 7:12);

the presentation of capitalism:

Die Schüler müssen erkennen, daß der Imperialismus der Haupt-
feind der Menschheit ist . . . Am Beispiel des Imperialis-
mus in der BRD soll den Schülern deutlich werden, daß der
Imperialismus sein außenpolitisches Hauptziel, den Sozialismus

zu vernichten, nicht aufgegeben hat Auf diese Weise soll den Schülern ein klares Eindbild vermittelt und ihre parteiliche Haltung gegenüber dem Imperialismus vertieft werden. (Lehrplan, Klasse 7:17; see also Lehrplan, Klasse 10:8);

the need for Parteilichkeit at all times:

Die Schüler sollen den Kapitalismus als menschenfeindlich erfassen, ihn verurteilen und zum glühenden Haß auf den Imperialismus als Todfeind der Völker erzogen werden. Sie sollen gegenüber dem aggressiven Wesen des Imperialismus und den raffinierten Methoden seiner Politik parteilich Standpunkt beziehen. (Lehrplan, Klasse 9:6-7; see also Lehrplan, Klasse 10:8)

The pupils are expected to adopt this type of parteilich language themselves in the work they do in connection with Staatsbürgerkunde, and failure to use the correct evaluative terminology results in lower marks and a demonstration to the class of the individual's errors of judgment (59). This contrasts with the FRG approach we described above. Some GDR scholars feel that the use of parteilich language in texts, including school books, can be overdone and lead to amusement, boredom or incomprehension. In a discussion of the language of a Staatsbürgerkunde text, Nestler writes:

Jede Passage für sich genommen mag emotional wirksam die historischen Ereignisse werten. Diese Wendungen sind jedoch gehäuft in einem Abschnitt des Lehrbuchs enthalten Es ist fragwürdig, ob ein Schüler der 7. Klasse ohne Mühe die Kernaussagen dieses Texts erschließen kann. Wir wissen, daß gerade im Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht wertende Begriffe von hoher Bedeutung sind. Ob sie aber auf einem solch hohen Abstraktionsniveau ins Lehrbuch aufgenommen werden sollen, ist . . . zu bezweifeln. (Nestler (1975:161); see also Ammer (1961:52); Fleischer (1977:84))

These doubts do not, however, shake the basic belief in the importance of Parteilichkeit.

We discuss later in this section the contrasting belief of the FRG in neutrality in the presentation of teaching material and the necessity of the teacher's remaining impartial in class and not attempting to influence the views of the pupils in any particular (party-) political direction. The respective positions of the two German states with regard to the issue of Parteilichkeit, which affects all areas of political education, including content, language and methodology, can be seen as the single most significant difference between their systems of political education, each of which is an expression of a fundamentally different system of belief as to the position of the individual in

society and the role of the state in the life of the citizen. Whilst we show later in this section and in other sections that neither the FRG textbooks, nor indeed teachers, are always as impartial as might be expected from reading the guidelines on political education, in that there is some bias in favour of the status quo in the FRG, it is nonetheless the case that, with respect to the content and language of the textbooks, and the expected behaviour of both teachers and pupils, there is a vast difference in degree, if not absolutely in essence, between the two systems.

5.1.2 The roles of the pupil and the teacher in the GDR

The 1965 law on education contains the following statement on the socialist education system:

Es dient dem Wachsen und Werden allseitig gebildeter, das heißt sozialistisch bewußter, hochqualifizierter, gesunder, geistig und körperlich leistungsfähiger, kulturvoller Menschen, die fähig und bereit sind, die historischen Aufgaben unserer Zeit zu erfüllen. (Gesetz, preamble, p 85)

The equating here of education with socialist consciousness, and the explicit directing of the education system towards particular political goals reflects the state's belief in the correctness of its policies and the infallibility of its decisions. Within this clearly delineated, but nonetheless so far very general framework, the individual pupil is expected to develop into a conforming member of society. The law on education emphasises throughout the subordination of the individual to the system as a whole, and the tempering of individual desires to the desires and needs of the collective:

Das Ziel des einheitlichen sozialistischen Bildungssystems ist . . . die Bildung und Erziehung allseitig und harmonisch entwickelter sozialistischer Persönlichkeiten (para 1,1). Die Verbindung von Unterricht und produktiver Arbeit . . . soll dazu beitragen, die Übereinstimmung zwischen den volkswirtschaftlichen Erfordernissen und den Begabungen und Neigungen des einzelnen herzustellen (para 4,3). Im Bildungs- und Erziehungsprozeß wird die Jugend durch die Lösung konkreter Aufgaben zum bewußten Handeln für den Sozialismus erzogen (para 4,4). Die Schüler, Lehrlinge und Studenten sind zur Liebe zur Deutschen Demokratischen Republik . . . zu erziehen Sie sind im Geiste des Friedens . . . zu erziehen Sie sollen darauf vorbereitet werden, körperliche und geistige Arbeit zu leisten (para 5,2). So werden sie befähigt, den Sinn des Lebens in unserer Zeit zu begreifen (para 5,4). (60)

This view of the school as basically an institution where people are shaped to fit a mould predetermined for them is also found in other works on education. Whilst it is emphasised that the pupils are encouraged to develop their own personalities and to retain their individuality, it is also made clear that this individuality is not to conflict with the good of the class or collective as a whole, and that personal desires are to be subordinated to the needs of the collective (Günther and Uhlig (1974:257); Meier (1974:242); Neuner et al (1976:134); Roland and Hennig (1977:165)). There is more emphasis now than in the early days of the GDR on personal questioning and enquiry leading to the gaining of insights and information, rather than the pupils simply being fed with the facts, but the ultimate aim is still the same: the development in the pupils of a relatively small and well-defined set of ideologically acceptable attitudes and modes of behaviour (Schmitt (1978:39)). What the pupils are to learn and the way in which they are expected to develop is clearly laid out by the authorities, and both pupil and teacher are normally regarded primarily as small but essential components in the process of developing socialist society, rather than as individuals fulfilling personal ambitions or developing individual abilities (61).

It is widely believed that schoolchildren imitate the behaviour of their teachers (62), and the responsibility of GDR teachers in this regard and the requirement that they play an exemplary role and be a worthy model for the pupils to emulate is stressed (Meier (1974:193, 199, 235, 242, 278, 281f); Feige (1975:43f, 101f)), as is their contribution to the children's political education in general and backing up the work done by the FDJ (Meier (1974:260)). Teaching is itself seen as a political activity (Glocke (1974:5); Günther and Uhlig (1974:72)), and the teachers' own extracurricular political engagement is also important (Hanhardt (1970:28); Feige (1974:286)). It is not enough for the teachers simply to provide the pupils with true facts and information: their emotions must be awakened in connection with political issues as a prelude to their taking personal action and becoming personally involved. As part of this emotive influencing of the pupils the language used by the teachers is mentioned as being particularly important:

Entscheidend ist, daß der Lehrer sein Wissen richtig mitzuteilen vermag, und dabei spielt die sprachliche Vermittlung vom Lehrer zum Schüler eine wesentliche Rolle.

Gewiß stimmt es, daß man bei gutem Wissen und echter Überzeugung auch "die richtigen Worte" findet, um sich mitzuteilen. Aber sind diese Worte auch immer pädagogisch "richtig", das heißt erkenntnisfördernd und überzeugend für den anderen, für den Schüler und Mitmenschen? (Michel (1967:260); see also ibid, p 263, 266f)

The overall organisation of the socialist education system is sometimes likened to democratic centralism itself, with the decision-making power concentrated in one place and the decisions taken there being binding for all (Meier (1974:282f)). Syllabuses, teaching materials etc are centrally agreed upon, and the teacher's role consists simply in deciding on the best teaching methods to use in a particular class (63). The aims of each year's work in general and of each section of each book in particular are also laid down, with regard to what is to be learned, including the emotional reactions that are to be encouraged in the pupils (Feige (1975:286f); Hartung (1974:354)). Similarly, the FDJ has only limited power to represent the pupils' ideas when these conflict with the norm; school councils on western lines are unknown (64).

The above system of education clearly shows the ML belief in the correctness of its own interpretation of society and social development; the GDR believes that, since its view is the correct one, there is not only no point in teaching or developing other views, but that this is positively harmful and retrograde. For this reason, pupils who voice dissident opinions are always to be shown the error of their ways: they, like the teachers, are not permitted to deviate from the ML path.

5.1.3 The role of the textbook in the GDR

The textbook occupies a central position in political education classes in the GDR; it has been estimated that on average 25% of classroom time is spent working directly with the textbook (Feige (1975:232)). Since the same set of textbooks is used throughout the GDR, these books are clearly in a position to exercise a great influence on the reader and his view of the world:

Das Lehrbuch im Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht bildet das zentrale Unterrichtsmittel des Faches Das Lehrbuch ist das einzige Unterrichtsmittel, das den Inhalt des Staatsbürgerkundeunterrichts und damit die Lehrplangvorgaben, dem Ziel entsprechend, relativ umfassend für

den Unterrichtsprozeß zur Verfügung stellt und dabei wesentliche didaktisch-methodische Grundpositionen berücksichtigt. (Feige (1975:231)) (65)

The textbook can and indeed must at times be supplemented by other material, either officially prescribed or prepared by the individual teacher; for classes 9 and 10 there is an additional collection of documents produced for general use (66), and the teachers are encouraged to use other teaching aids, both printed matter and audio-visual materials, to supplement the text-book (67). However, whilst there is a large range of extra material available, and whilst the teacher is at liberty to develop his own material too, there are limitations to this range and this liberty: all materials used in class must be aimed at achieving the particular pedagogic aim of the section of the textbook being dealt with, and all additional material must supplement and reinforce the message of the textbook. Conflicting material is not to be used, except when needed to illustrate an incorrect point of view in the course of, for example, teaching pupils to defend their working-class standpoints; opinions which conflict with ML views are used only to emphasise the correctness of these views (Neuner et al (1976:53)). The world-view that is to be taught to the pupils is, of course, ML.

In order to enable the teacher to achieve the aims of each particular section of the textbook and to ensure that the pupils both learn the required facts and develop the correct attitudes, detailed suggestions for lesson-plans are provided, which emphasise the information that is to be imparted and the best way of approaching the task. For example, the first section of the textbook for the 8th class, dealing with Die politischen und ökonomischen Grundlagen der sozialistischen Gesellschaft extends over thirty-eight pages and is intended to be dealt with in a total of ten lessons (8/5-42); the Lehrplan for class 8 contains simply six pages of information on this section of the book, including a summary of the contents, the purpose of the section, and a few suggestions for the teaching (Lehrplan, Klasse 8:9-14). The book of Unterrichtshilfen, however, devotes forty pages to this section alone, ie more space than is allocated to the topic in the school book itself (Unterrichtshilfen, Klasse 8:19-59). These forty pages include a detailed introduction to the section, both from the point of view of content and with regard to what the pupils are to learn from it and

what it should enable them to do and encourage them to feel (Unterrichtshilfen, Klasse 8:23). This is followed by a short (1½ sides) sketch in tabular form of a plan for the first two lessons covering five pages of text in the pupils' book, showing the interrelationship between the teaching and learning processes. All teachers are expected to accept this inhaltliche und didaktisch-methodische Linienführung and to strive to achieve its aims in their classes:

Ein Unterricht, der dieser Linienführung folgt, führt die Schüler mit zwingender Logik und Beweiskraft zu jenen Allgemeinerkenntnissen und Schlußfolgerungen, die Erkenntnisfundament ideologischer Überzeugung sind. (Neuner et al (1976:73))

After this introduction there are detailed plans for each lesson that is to be taught. Each lesson is dealt with separately, broken down into stages, usually three or four per lesson, with suggestions as to how to present material visually, what questions to ask the pupils, under what headings to summarise their answers on the board, suggestions for mini-lectures for the teacher to give on particular topics, and what homework is to be set. These suggestions are in part compulsory and in part optional:

Es wird vorgeschlagen, daß der Lehrer mit dem Einsatz der für die Unterrichtseinheit 1.1 verbindlichen Tonbildreihe . . . beginnt. (Unterrichtshilfen, Klasse 8:25)

In this case the pictures must be shown, but the teacher has some discretion as to precisely when to use them. Other audio-visual aids from a list of approved materials may also be used at the teacher's discretion (Unterrichtshilfen, Klasse 8:13f). Details are given of teaching materials such as charts and montages for the noticeboard of newspaper articles on various topics being dealt with in class (Unterrichtshilfen, Klasse 8:13-14). Longer-term projects which the pupils are to carry out apart from their normal homework are listed, together with details of when the pupils are to be given the projects and when they are to be finished - up to eight lessons later (Unterrichtshilfen, Klasse 8:15f).

In view of these extremely detailed and in part compulsory teaching plans that are provided, it is clear that the teachers have relatively little freedom in their approaches to their teaching; they are required to adhere to the prescribed methods to ensure that all pupils receive a uniform education that has not been "corrupted" by any personal views of the teacher or the introduction of material that does not support the aims of the lessons. There are, however, some lessons left free

for the treatment of current issues that cannot be catered for in advance; these number four in classes 7-9, and two in class 10. It is clear that the attitudes demonstrated in these hours will be expected to resemble and reinforce those shown in normal lessons (68).

5.2 The FRG

In contrast to the GDR, political education in schools in the FRG is, like all schoolteaching, the responsibility of the individual Länder, the Bund having simply an advisory and coordinating function and no direct jurisdiction in any of the Länder (Brandis (1974:528f); Schäfer (1976:41-59); Jeismann (1979:10f)). As a result of this the precise nature of what is taught in political education classes varies with the political complexion of the Land governments. It is however possible to extrapolate from the recommendations of the Bund and the practice of the Länder what might loosely be termed a general policy on political education. Adorno sums up the prerequisites of education in general as follows:

Erziehung wäre ohnmächtig und ideologisch, wenn sie das Anpassungsziel ignorierte und die Menschen nicht darauf vorbereitete, in der Welt sich zurechtzufinden. Sie ist aber genauso fragwürdig, wenn sie dabei stehenbleibt und nichts anderes als "well adjusted people" produziert, wodurch sich der bestehende Zustand, und zwar gerade in seinem Schlechten, erst recht durchsetzt. (Adorno (1970:114) in Eigenwald (1972a:128))

In the discussion which began in the FRG in the early 1960s on political education the subject matter was envisaged as combining aspects of several traditionally separate disciplines, mainly history, geography and sociology, as well as involving smaller contributions from subjects such as political science, law, and economics (see for example Hartwich (1963) passim); this was a combination which elicited much criticism at the time and initiated a controversy which has still not been resolved to everybody's satisfaction (69).

The policy of decentralisation and lack of an overall binding governmental education policy in the FRG is reflected in the variety of names given in the various Länder to the subject to which we here refer as "political education". These names reflect the differing emphases that can be placed on the various aspects of the overall topic area, and exemplify the relative lack of rigidity in the FRG

system. Terms used include the following:

politische Bildung: (the most general term, used by the Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK)); the KMK also uses the terms Gemeinschaftskunde, Gesellschaftslehre, Politik and Sozialkunde. Elsewhere we find: Politikwissenschaft, politische Weltkunde, Sozialwissenschaft, Weltkunde, Welt- und Umweltkunde, Wirtschaft (70).

Klönne and Tschoepe use the term Sozialkunde as the most neutral in their discussion of textbooks available, and criticise the widespread use of the term Gemeinschaftskunde:

Aus dem dominierenden harmonistischen Familienbild entfaltet sich in manchen Sozialkundebüchern eine Art Harmoniegebot für die Gesellschaft, angedeutet schon in dem inzwischen kultusministeriell fixierten Begriff der "Gemeinschaftskunde". Noch immer ist in der Praxis der Sozialkunde der Konflikt vielfach diffamiert. (Klönne and Tschoepe (1964:347))

Brandis sees the whole subject in a similar light:

. . . im Unterricht (wird) ein harmonisches Gesellschaftsbild entworfen und der Staat als neutrale Instanz dargestellt, nicht dagegen als Herrschaftsapparat, dessen sich soziale und politische Gruppen bedienen. Außerdem (wird) das Machtmotiv verharmlost, Konflikte wurden ausgeklammert. (Brandis (1974:539); see also Eigenwald (1972a:129); Stritzke (1974:254); Nolte (1975:159); Minogue (1979:28))

The document produced by the KMK in 1962 described the new type of political education as follows:

In der Gemeinschaftskunde soll der junge Mensch in einem angemessenen Umfang lernen, unsere gegenwärtige Welt in ihrer historischen Verwurzelung, mit ihren sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und geographischen Bedingungen, ihren politischen Ordnungen und Tendenzen zu verstehen und kritisch zu beurteilen. Er soll die Aufgaben des Bürgers unserer Demokratie nicht nur erkennen, sondern auch fähig und bereit werden, sich im praktischen Gemeinschaftsleben der Schule und später in der gesellschaftlichen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Welt zu entscheiden und verantwortlich zu handeln. Hierzu sind sichere Kenntnisse ebenso notwendig wie tiefere Einsichten in Wirkungszusammenhänge und Strukturen menschlicher Lebensformen und in das Wesen politischen Entscheidens und Handelns. Die Gemeinschaftskunde führt so zu philosophischen Fragestellungen. (KMK 1962, quoted in Sontheimer (1963:11)) (71)

These guidelines have formed the basis of political teaching throughout the FRG since the early 1960s and still find expression in contemporary curricula. The original seven main topic areas listed by the KMK in 1962 envisaged a type of politische Gegenwartskunde (HRRG:18) that is

still generally found today (72). The FRG is to be studied and analysed by reference to various historically, geographically and ideologically differing societies or customs, with the aim of convincing the pupils that the kind of pluralist democracy embodied in the freiheitlich-demokratische Grundordnung represents the best foundation for the development of the individual and society as a whole, and consequently of gaining their active support in the maintaining and furthering of that system (see AGHR:19; B-WRe:2; B-W Materialien:1; HHPol II:8; R-Pf:3, 7). The intention was and is:

die gegenwärtige Welt in ihren Zusammenhängen erkennbar zu machen und (die) Schüler zu politisch verantwortungsbewußt handelnden Bürgern zu erziehen. (Knoll (1964:318); see also Stern (1963:56) on "die Erziehung zum kundigen Demokraten")

Apolitical behaviour is regarded as acceptable only if it is the result of a conscious and informed choice on the part of the individual, and not simply the result of lethargy; the active involvement of the maximum number of people in the political life of the state is seen as the best way of guarding against the return of political extremism (see Sontheimer (1963) *passim*; Nitzschke (1966:260f); G&P Elternheft:10; HHPol II:4; B-W Materialien:2). Much less emphasis is placed on character-formation and national consciousness than in the GDR, however; except where the issue of nationhood is being explicitly discussed, patriotism and pride in the state are scarcely mentioned, the aim being to win the pupils' allegiance to a set of political principles and to develop a general attitude in them, rather than prescribing a particular set of criteria to which they are to conform (73).

Whilst the development of the individual personality is a central aim of the FRG education system, there is no single definition of what this "capitalist personality" might be; one of the nearest approaches is the following extract from Fischer:

Demokratische Politische Bildung versteht sich als auf Selbstbestimmung und Mitbestimmung abzielende; sie will Menschen . . . befähigen, gesellschaftliche Realität und sich selbst in ihr zu erkennen, um sie zu beurteilen und bedarfsfalls zu verändern. Dazu muß sie darauf bedacht sein, daß Menschen fähig sind, die angemessenen Mittel für Veränderung in der konkreten Situation zu wählen und zu ergreifen. (Fischer (1973:60))

The discussion surrounding the aims of education as a whole, including

political education, has been particularly lively in Hesse, and the publication of the Hessische Rahmenrichtlinien caused a fundamental reappraisal of the teaching of all subjects. Although the conclusions reached in Hesse, and the subsequent recommendations for teaching, may not be typical of the whole of the FRG, in that they represent an essentially left of centre, critical standpoint which other Länder may not share, nonetheless the basic (theoretical) aims of political education in Hesse are broadly in line with the overall aims of the KMK and conform to the freiheitlich-demokratische Grundordnung.

The Hesse guidelines give the following account of the aim of education and the type of personality it is hoped will develop:

Als verfassungsrechtliche Grundentscheidung beschreiben Grundgesetz und hessische Verfassung die Erziehung zur menschlichen Würde in einer freiheitlichen demokratischen Grundordnung als staatliche Bildungsaufgabe. Dabei setzt das Grundgesetz den mündigen Bürger als den zur freien Persönlichkeitsentfaltung Berufenen, . . . zur Berufsent-scheidung Befähigten, . . . zur politischen Willensbildung Fähigen, . . . und zur Mitarbeit in Verbänden und Parteien Bereiten als gegeben voraus. (AGHR:15-16, our emphasis; see also Bolte (1963:25))

The basic characteristics of the mündiger Bürger, qualities which are also to be displayed by the teacher in class, are as follows:

Ehrfurcht und Nächstenliebe, Achtung und Duldsamkeit, Rechtlichkeit und Wahrhaftigkeit. (AGHR:22a)

In the context of the present discussion of differences between GDR and FRG the most important of these may be said to be Duldsamkeit; even this, however, is not unlimited:

Duldsamkeit als das Geltenlassen von Andersartigem, von fremden Meinungen, Sitten und Überzeugungen und den Verzicht auf die Anwendung von Gewalt oder Druck gegen Andersdenkende oder Andersseiende, die ihre Grenze dort hat, wo der Kernbestand der Grundwerte verletzt wird. (AGHR:22a)

The limits of Duldsamkeit lie where any further toleration of others would take one outside the provisions of the Grundgesetz; this is the one institution in the FRG that is generally not open to challenge, but since its provisions are relatively general, it is broadly felt that people have a great amount of freedom to develop as they wish within its terms (see AGHR:19). Similarly, Hilligen emphasises that there are certain Spielregeln which must be adhered to in political behaviour in general (Hilligen (1976:67)). It is clear from this that the FRG's belief in impartiality is not absolute, and that there are certain taboo areas.

All the above aims are to be achieved by a process of sober and balanced reflection and evaluation of the options on the part of the pupils, rather than by a simple process of acceptance of the world-view presented by the teacher and the textbook (see B-WRe:2; HHRe:6; Mensch und Gesellschaft, Elternheft:7, Sozialkunde, Lehrerheft:4). It is emphasised throughout the guidelines and curricula of the KMK and the Länder that the pupils are to be taught to accept a pluralist society, with all its implications for differences, conflict and change. In tandem with this aim goes the belief that no one particular world-view, social structure or political philosophy is universally and eternally valid, but rather that all these are conditioned by the geographic, economic, political, and particularly the historical circumstances in which they exist (74). Teachers are not to support or recommend one particular point of view at the expense of others, but to ensure that a variety of views on each topic are investigated, with the aim of achieving a balanced view and avoiding one-sidedness (see AGHR:21; B-WRe:2; HHRe:12; Fischer, Heide, Zitzlaff (1976:11)). It is recognised that teachers have their own political opinions, but it is stressed that these personal views must be identified as such and not presented as facts, that the teacher must be prepared to discuss his views with the class and not penalise those pupils who hold different views, and that the lessons are intended to enable the pupils to make informed judgements and decisions on their own political life and are not to be used for party-political purposes (see AGHR:7; B-W Materialien: 1; HHRe:12, 13; Einführung in die Politik:7, 8; Lernfeld Gesellschaft, Lehrerheft:4; Mensch und Gesellschaft:15). It is recognised that the institution of the school itself is not an ivory tower separate from the interests and issues of society as a whole, but is itself an expression of the prevailing value-system and can be the object of controversy; this situation is explicitly welcomed, in Hesse at least, as representing a concrete illustration of the principles being taught and thus making a direct contribution to the political education of the pupils (75).

It is emphasised that a belief in pluralism and the recognition of the validity of competing views is not an end in itself, but that controversy is always to be approached with a view to its being solved, the task of the pupil being to analyse the problem, and to suggest and evaluate possible solutions (see AGHR:10; B-WRe:2; Hesse Entwurf:1; HHRe:5; HRRG:15, 19f; NRWHau:7; G&P, p 11, 12). This approach takes for granted

that all problems can be solved and that there is always room for compromise. This view, and the view that it is desirable and possible to teach politics in a neutral and impartial way, is not accepted by all writers: Cordes et al point out that the belief in the desirability of neutrality is itself ideological, and that pupils are hampered in their progress by not being allowed to come fully to terms with this concept or to challenge it in any meaningful way (Cordes et al (1971: 164)); Eigenwald writes in similar vein of "'eine Ideologie von der Freiheit, die in einem Atemzuge die Freiheit von der Ideologie' suggeriert" (Eigenwald (1972a:129)) (76); Nitzschke complains of the superficiality of many books which tend to over-simplify the issues and make them appear more easily solved than is actually the case (Nitzschke (1966:273)) (77), and he also points out the limitations put on the questioning and challenging by the pupils:

Kritik darf sein, wenn sie sich in den Bahnen bewegt, die allgemein anerkannt sind. (Nitzschke (1966:261))

This further confirms the limits to impartiality mentioned above.

For most writers this process of evaluation and judging is to be developed by the pupils practising questioning the material and situations they are faced with, and by their learning not to accept things at face-value. Some of the main ways of achieving this are by attempting to discover the specific interests of the various groups involved and the effects these have on what is said, prejudices and unreasoned opinions on the part of oneself and others, and the prevailing norms which may influence a situation (B-W Materialien:2; HHRe:6; HRRG:8, 18; NRWHau:7; R-Pf:15; Einführung in die Politik:4; Mensch und Gesellschaft, Elternheft:14; TP:8). This questioning can include an analysis of the language in which the material is presented (B-W Materialien:2, 20 on the language of FRG and GDR; HRRG:19; Aktionsfeld Politik, Elternheft:6, 56f on the language of FRG and GDR; Glaser (1971:145)).

The above aims are to be achieved on the basis of a dispassionate presentation by the teacher of the topic and of a rational analysis and evaluation by the pupils of that topic and of the issues raised by it. Excessive emotion and one-sided argument of the kind practised through GDR Parteilichkeit are to be avoided:

Parteilichkeit als Prinzip des politischen Handelns ist geboten; aber Parteilichkeit als Prinzip des Lehrenden ist gefährlich. Nun soll zwar politische Bildung zum

Handeln anleiten, sie darf aber nicht selbst die Partei vorschreiben, für die der Lernende sich entscheiden soll. Der Lehrer als Staatsbürger soll Partei ergreifen, der Lehrer als Erzieher soll über den Parteien stehen, ohne apolitisch zu werden. (Ulshöfer (1971:78)) (78)

This approach recognises the role played by emotion in political behaviour, and it is generally accepted that the awakening of enthusiasm both for politics in general and also for particular political issues in the pupils is to be welcomed if political education is not to remain superficial; the teacher must not attempt to influence these enthusiasms, so long as they remain within the framework of the Grundgesetz:

Soziales Lernen hat . . . in hohem Maß konkret-praktischen Bezug; sein Ziel ist nicht rein kognitiv zu erreichen. Wenn es nicht äußerlich bleiben soll, dann bedarf es einer emotional-affektiven Lehrdimension, die jedoch stets rational gezügelt sein muß. (AGHR:12; see also ibid, p 14, 22a) (79)

To a certain extent, then, FRG teachers can also be said to be asked to demonstrate Parteilichkeit, although in a different way and to a lesser extent than is the case in the GDR. It is demonstrated in the analyses below that the purportedly neutral nature of the textbooks themselves is occasionally similarly weighted in favour of the FRG's own social and political system instead of allowing the pupils a completely free choice.

The issue of emotive language is discussed by some writers, mainly in order to emphasise the necessity of making the pupils aware of the manipulatory and propagandistic potential of language and training them to investigate linguistic assertions in order to ascertain the position and interests of the utterers and their intentions. The draft curriculum for Baden-Württemberg suggests the following:

Die Schüler sollen erkennen, daß sie auf Informationen angewiesen sind, daß sie diese Informationen aber auch auf ihren Wahrscheinlichkeitsgrad und ihre Interessenabhängigkeit hin beurteilen und sie in Zusammenhängen einordnen können müssen. (B-W Materialien:9) (80)

Since political behaviour is also to a great extent linguistic behaviour, the importance of an acquaintance with the specialist language of politics and the ability to use it oneself is recognised, although by no means so much importance is accorded to this in the FRG as in the GDR (see for example Mensch und Gesellschaft, Elternheft:12).

Parents and teachers are exhorted by one writer to reflect on their own

use of language in political contexts when talking to children, and to ensure that words are not misused in such a way as to mislead the receiver and to encourage "das Krebsgeschwür Vorurteil in der Brust seiner Kinder und Schüler" (Mensch und Gesellschaft, Elternheft:14; emphasis in original); in turn adults are to encourage children to become aware of the importance of the role played by language in political statements:

Allmählich, immer besser, immer klarer müssen auch schon Kinder unterscheiden lernen zwischen Sätzen, die "richtig" sind, weil sie jedermann überprüfen kann, Sätzen, die etwas verallgemeinern, Sätzen, die etwas behaupten, und schließlich Sätzen, durch die wir unsere Überzeugungen zum Ausdruck bringen. Falsche Verallgemeinerungen sollten Sie immer zurückweisen, denn sie sind allemal Vorurteile, gleichviel ob man da sagt, "alle Deutschen sind heroisch" oder ob man von sich gibt, "alle Italiener sind Knoblauchesser" oder ähnliches Zeug. (Mensch und Gesellschaft, Elternheft:15)

Rumpf insists that whilst the pupils' decisions should not be made for them and whilst they should be made aware of the mechanisms whereby these decisions can be influenced, the teaching of politics, particularly in its historical dimension, should not be totally purged of all emotion, lest it become too dry and sanitised and fail to hold the attention of the pupils (see for example Rumpf (1979) passim).

As stated, the ability to produce ideologically "correct" utterances on a more specific level than that referred to above is not regarded as so important in the FRG as is the case in the GDR. This may be a direct result of that aspect of the prevailing ideology in the FRG which requires the toleration of a multiplicity of political views and opinions and rejects the prescription of any particular political standpoint; in tandem with this there can be no one single "best" way of shaping an utterance linguistically.

Whilst it is not desirable in the eyes of the FRG educational legislators that a particular world-view should be prescribed to the pupils, it is nonetheless clear from the above discussion that the kind of political stance being aimed at is one which conforms to the principles of the Grundgesetz and does not aim at changing FRG society by sudden or violent means. Thus the concrete expression of political socialisation in the FRG is the enabling of the individual to analyse material and situations and to make informed decisions as to his own political activities within the framework laid down by the Grundgesetz

(see Uhlig (1972:54); Nyssen (1973a:58); George (1975:73)). This inevitably means that radical views are acceptable only to a limited extent. In the wider context of the discussion on political education in general, outside the immediate framework of legislation, a broader spectrum of opinions is to be found than would generally be expected to be favourably presented in the schoolbooks themselves (see for example George (1978:75)), (although, as will be seen below, a discussion of extreme left- and right-wing views does form part of the curriculum as a topic for discussion and evaluation). Beavan discusses the spread of contemporary views on political theory from left to right (see Beavan (1978, esp p 64-5)). However, despite this wide variety of views in the academic world, teaching about politics in schools aims at the middle ground and emphasises the importance of consensus for the peaceful and harmonious development of society.

This belief in consensus and partnership among the various groups in society has been attacked by various writers, particularly those on the left, as an attempt to disguise the rift between social classes and in particular the conflict of interests between employers and employees. These writers believe that an idealised view of society is presented which serves the interests of the ruling class. Uhlig writes of some words and concepts such as soziale Marktwirtschaft being as if "unter Naturschutz", in that no fundamental criticism of them is allowed (Uhlig (1972:94); see also Fischer (1973:70f, 76)). It has been accepted since the late 1960s that this is a valid view, and that the interests of workers and employers are not necessarily always identical (see for example Geisler (1973:118); Brandis (1974: 539); Beavan (1978:49)). The fact that nonetheless Partnerschaft is still to a great extent lauded as the ideal expression of contemporary society again alerts us to the possibility that political teaching in the FRG may not be as wertfrei as is frequently claimed (see G&P Elternheft:13; Mensch und Gesellschaft, Elternheft:8, 9 on the importance of a balanced view; Nitzschke (1966:118, 261) on the importance of Illusionslosigkeit). Geißler takes the view that on the whole FRG curricula are over-idealistic and their aims unattainable in the real world (Geisler (1973:108)); similarly, Herkommer criticises the training of teachers of politics as inadequate, and regards the concept of impartiality at any price, which he sees as the fundamental attitude they develop, as unnecessary and negative (81). We return to the issue of Partnerschaft in more detail in Part III in the discussion of classi-

fication.

Despite the reservations of the writers discussed above, political education in the FRG does not consist entirely of the development of democratic attitudes and an emotive belief in and attachment to the freiheitlich-demokratische Grundordnung; stress is also laid on the acquisition of concrete knowledge as the indispensable foundation for these convictions:

Diese Formulierung (der Grundlagen und Ziele politischer Bildung) umfaßt einerseits neben der kognitiven auch die sogenannte affektive und die Handlungsdimension politischer Bildung; sie berücksichtigt andererseits, daß die Hauptaufgabe der Schule im Bereich des kognitiven Lernens liegt. (R-Pf:8; see also Hesse, Entwurf:6; HHRe:5; HRRG:10; Einführung in die Politik:6; Mensch und Gesellschaft, Elternheft:5; Sozialkunde, Lehrerheft:4)

As stated, this knowledge is mainly to be acquired in the areas of history, geography and sociology, and within these the attempt is made to relate directly to the pupils' own experiences in order to make the information being given more accessible and relevant to their everyday lives. The various Länder suggest various main topic areas for study as a means to achieving these ends, eg:

Baden-Württemberg: the world of the pupil at school and at home; his legal position; his role as consumer; the role of the media; the economy; politics and international relations (B-W Materialien:3);
Hamburg: topics related to the economy, society, the law, politics and international relations (HHRe:2f);
Hesse: socialisation; the economy; public administration; conflicts between societies (HRRG, passim);
Rhineland-Pfalz: class, community, family; media, interest groups, law; FRG, GDR, international relations (R-Pf:introduction, 9).

The above all show a concern for the personal life and the immediate environment of the pupil, as well as with broader and more generally relevant issues. Topics dealt with in actual text books include the following, which may be taken as typical:

Lernfeld Gesellschaft: Auto, Kriminalität, Wohnen, Fernsehen, die Alten, Schule, Sport, Umweltschutz, Entwicklungshilfe, Berufe, Wähler und Gewählte, Eigentum, BRD, DDR. (82)

The emphasis here is on more "social" topics than was the case in the GDR books; there is less immediately political or doctrinal material. We return to this issue at the beginning of Part III.

At the present time most of the books produced for use in political education classes are suitable for use in all school types, although there are some intended specifically for one or other type. This differentiation has been seen as an attempt to perpetuate class society: Herkommer states that there are no really good books for the Berufsschule, whilst pupils at the Gymnasium attain high marks not because of their ability but because of better teachers and better books (Herkommer (1973:39, 42); see also Nitzschke (1966:8); Geisler (1973:118f); Preuß-Lausitz (1973a:71, 91)). This latter view would seem to be contradicted by Hanhardt's finding that children from working class backgrounds in the GDR, where all pupils receive a uniform education, do less well in politics classes than others (Hanhardt (1970:39); see also Uhlig (1972:37) on the non-homogeneity of FRG society). For our analysis in the present thesis we chose FRG books which are each used in a variety of school types, in order to be sure that we were dealing as far as possible with "typical" texts.

Whilst FRG curricula emphasise the importance of factual knowledge and the ability to form reasoned judgements, they also recognise the dangers of simply learning to recite information and the various ways of dealing with situations, and point explicitly to the desirability of going beyond the level of the practical and everyday aspects of politics and political behaviour and reaching a more abstract level of philosophical reflection:

Die wesentliche Aufgabe der Problemfragen besteht darin, zu verhindern, daß Unterricht lediglich in eine "Stoffhuberei" ausartet. Sie sollen über den Stoff hinaus einen existentiellen Bezug ermöglichen und zu Fragen nach dem Sinn und nach den Werten unserer Gesellschaft anregen. Die Frage nach Werten wie Freiheit und Menschenwürde . . . ist wesentlicher und für den Bildungsauftrag der Schule bedeutender als die Erledigung des Stoffsolls. (B-W Materialien:4) (83)

The hope for this kind of philosophical thought is implicit in other curricula and is revealed through the kind of statements made and questions asked in some of the textbooks, as in the following:

In den folgenden Abschnitten möchten wir Euch zum Nachdenken anregen über Politik, Herrschaft, Freiheiten, Mißbrauchsgefahren, und über Euch selbst. Wenn es ohne Politik und Herrschaft nicht geht - was müssen wir wissen und können, damit wir möglichst frei leben können? (G&P:12; see similarly Mensch und Gesellschaft:93; Sozialkunde:122f)

5.2.1 The roles of the pupil and the teacher in the FRG

As emerges from the above discussion, the roles of pupil and teacher in political education classes in the FRG are very different from their counterparts in the GDR, in that there is less emphasis on a single correct canon of knowledge to be taught and assimilated, and a greater emphasis on the formation of individual opinions on the basis of contrasting items of information. The teacher in the FRG is expected to function as a provider of factual information and guidance, rather than someone all-knowing and wise:

Auch die Rolle des Lehrers im Unterricht wurde pragmatisch gesehen. Die gegenwärtige Diskussion schwebt in diesem Punkte ja zwischen zwei Extremen: Auf der einen Seite wird der Lehrer als reiner Unterrichtstechnologe gesehen, der vorgegebene Inhalte und Lernziele optimal zu realisieren und dies ebenso optimal zu kontrollieren habe. Auf der anderen Seite soll der Lehrer die geistigen Prozesse den Schülergruppen möglichst selbst überlassen und nur als deren Berater fungieren. Nach meiner Auffassung kann es sich hierbei jedoch nur um zwei von mehreren Varianten des Lehrerverhaltens handelnZ.B. muß der Lehrer auch Fachmann sein, der im Unterschied zu den Schülern die Sachverhalte, um die es geht, studiert hat, und auf dessen Kenntnisse die Schüler angewiesen sind. Er wird z.B. die Texte teilweise erklären und durch Beispiele veranschaulichen müssen. Er wird manchmal neue und bessere Materialien zur Hand haben, als das Buch sie bietet, und er wird gelegentlich das Buch vor und mit den Schülern kritisieren, indem er von sich aus Ergänzungen und Korrekturen anbringt, eigene Textskizzen vervielfältigt hinzufügt und damit schon den Schülern demonstriert, daß ein Buch nicht unumstößliche Wahrheiten enthält, sondern ein mehr oder weniger nützliches Hilfsmittel für gedankliches Arbeiten ist. (Einführung in die Politik, Lehrerheft:12; see also ibid, p 4; Lernfeld Gesellschaft, Lehrerheft:4; Fischer (1973:120)).

The teacher has a great deal of freedom with regard both to form and to content of the lessons; whilst he is required to adhere to the broad guidelines laid down with regard to topics to be dealt with, knowledge to be gained and abilities to be developed (B-WRe:5; HHRe:14; R-Pf:13; Lernfeld Gesellschaft, Lehrerheft:4; TP:10), he is largely at liberty to shape the lessons in whatever way appears suitable. There are no prescribed materials which have to be used at prescribed times and it is emphasised that the teacher is individually responsible to a great extent for the development of materials and the acquisition of teaching aids for the lessons (B-W Materialien:4; Einführung in die Politik, Lehrerheft:16). Teaching plans are provided as suggestions to help the teacher, but are not compulsory (B-W Materialien:3;

R-Pf:15; TP:11); similarly, there is no set number of hours that are to be devoted to any one topic, but simply a Richtzahl that may be disregarded (see for example B-W Materialien, passim).

The pupils likewise occupy a different position to those in the GDR with regard both to the teacher and to the subject matter. Many writers emphasise that, since political education is to an extent learning to make informed decisions, the pupils should be allowed to participate in the planning of the lessons and to work to some extent on what they wish (B-W Materialien:1; HHRe:4; HRRG:10). The pupils are felt to be at school not simply to assimilate what is told them, but to develop personal opinions by actively seeking information and being free to develop their own views; this is referred to as Selbst- und Mitbestimmung (HHRe:13). They can disagree with the teachers' opinions, and criticise their teaching (B-W Materialien:6) without fear of punishment, since this is all seen as contributing to their development into kluge Köpfe (Aktionsfeld Politik:6) and politically mature citizens. One teaching method that is particularly widely recommended is role-playing (see for example HRRG:18; TP:13); this is justified by the argument that the pupils develop greater insights into political issues if they act them out in particular situations and thus come to experience personally the feelings and opinions held. Role-playing is suggested in many schoolbooks as a way of gaining both factual knowledge and affective insights into issues, as is group work on specific projects, both short- and long-term, which is said to encourage cooperation and other social skills. (We discuss in Part III the questions and tasks set the pupils in the textbooks).

In summary, the pupil is not expected to sit quietly and assimilate what he is told by the teacher and reproduce it on demand; rather, he is expected to take a more active role and develop an individual personality and opinions (84). Many Länder guidelines leave a certain amount of time (eg 20% in Hamburg) (HHRe:14; see also B-W Materialien:4) free for pupils and teachers to use as they like. This time may be used for remedial work, more detailed work on topics of particular interest, current affairs, etc at the discretion of the class as a whole.

5.2.2 The role of the textbook in the FRG

Each Land produces a list of textbooks which it has approved for use in each subject in its schools, and books which do not appear on the list may not be used in that Land. Since there is considerable overlap between the lists of the various Länder, it is unlikely that there will be any fundamental difference in subject-matter between Länder. Individual schools and subject teachers may choose to use any of the books from the approved list as the foundation of their teaching. It is constantly emphasised, however, that the contents of the books are not to be regarded as "holy writ", either in the sense of containing eternal immutable truths or in being compulsory reading in their entirety. Many authors state that it is not necessary to work straight through their books from beginning to end (Mensch und Gesellschaft:9; Einführung in die Politik:15), others that various parts can be omitted (G&P:157). Teachers are, as stated, encouraged to supplement the material in the books with information of their own, either for further clarification of points made or to provide contrasting views, and some authors invite teachers' suggestions for amendments to their books (see for example TP:11). The information in the book is to be regarded simply as a starting point for a lesson, a type of accompaniment to the main process of learning rather than the main ingredient (G&P:10). Some authors state explicitly that they recognise the limitations of their books, particularly with regard to the affective component of teaching, and recommend that they should be regarded as a "mediator" in the learning process, a means to an end rather than an end in themselves (Einführung in die Politik:8f) (35).

It is recognised in the FRG that children are exposed to other agents of socialisation and other political opinions than those represented by the school and the schoolbook, which may cause them to develop different political attitudes to those generally considered desirable; consequently it is realised that what the schoolbook can achieve may be limited. Unlike in the GDR, where the school is regarded as a place in which to build on experiences gained elsewhere, some FRG writers believe that it may be the task of the school to change some of its pupils' ideas, in that some of the adults from whom they learn outside the school may subscribe to views that are not particularly democratic or humane. Hilligen in his discussion of this issue points out that it

is generally considered acceptable to make progress in life oneself by ignoring the discomfort caused to others in the process, that giving way to others is interpreted as weakness, and so on. Whilst many old beliefs and prejudices, such as that one is poor because God ordained it so, have largely disappeared, new ideals have not yet become universally accepted - Hilligen gives the example of a pilot who, knowing that his plane is about to crash, heads for an uninhabited area to avoid unnecessary casualties, without thinking of himself (Hilligen (1976:76)). Hilligen feels that the adoption of such heroes would be desirable, but doubts whether the school is able to overcome different deep-seated ideas held by the pupils.

5.3 The effectiveness of political education

A considerable amount of work has been done on the effectiveness of political education in schools; it is not feasible for us to give a detailed review of this work here, but in summary it is possible to say that there exists considerable doubt as to the efficacy of the school, and textbooks in particular, in influencing children's opinions. The prevailing views in the FRG can be exemplified by the debate between Nyssen and Preuß-Lausitz on the basis of American research (see Nyssen (1973a&b); Preuß-Lausitz (1973a); (1973b)) (86). The major schools of thought on the development of political attitudes in children are summarised by Preuß-Lausitz as those taking a Freudian view, according to which very early pre-school experiences are critical, and those based on Piaget's view, according to which school teaching and related cognitive development have a greater influence (Preuß-Lausitz (1973a:80)).

Nyssen supports the view of Becker, Herkommer and Bergmann in the FRG and Hess, Torney, Easton and others in the USA, whose investigations led them to conclude that school has less influence on political attitudes than other agents of socialisation outside the school (Nyssen (1973a:43)), and that fundamental political attitudes are formed and virtually immutable by a very early age, usually put at 13, but sometimes as early as 5 (Nyssen (1973a:51)).

Preuß-Lausitz condemns mainstream FRG educationists for failing to take fully into account the influence of a child's social class and home environment on his political learning (Preuß-Lausitz (1973a:84f, 91)),

and believes that learning continues throughout life, and is not over at the age of 13 (Preuß-Lausitz (1973a:90))(87). In his critique Preuß-Lausitz condemns the attempts of FRG society to persuade all children to conform to middle-class standards, and believes that working-class children can easily become confused and ultimately alienated as a result of the contradictions they perceive between their own experiences and the picture presented by the school. This can lead either to political apathy, or dangerous radicalism (Preuß-Lausitz (1973a:77)).

The uncertainty in this area with regard to the effectiveness of the whole enterprise of teaching politics in schools is reflected in conflicting views as to the efficacy of the schoolbook itself in the classroom situation and also in political learning generally. Böttcher (Böttcher (1978:69f)) believes that it is central to the teaching of politics, whilst Stritzke is more doubtful as to its effectiveness in motivating the pupils and awakening their interest (Stritzke (1974:257f); see also Ellul (1973:180f, 192); Jeismann (1979:9f)). Lipski writes of the "zentrale Rolle des Buches" (Lipski (1979:614)) in history teaching, which is broadly comparable to politics teaching, since 80% of teachers use the book as part of their teaching; he stresses, however, that the book can be used in a variety of different ways and does not represent a hindrance or a limitation of the teacher's approach (ibid). Nitzschke believes that books are of great importance,

einmal durch ihre Verbreitung, zum anderen durch das praktische Monopol, das sie in Schule und Unterricht haben (Nitzschke (1966:8)),

but that they have a restricting influence on the attitudes that the pupils develop:

Die Bücher fordern vom Schüler nicht Auseinandersetzung, sondern Einordnung und Unterordnung. Allgemeine Interessen sollen den eigenen vorgehen, wobei nicht völlig deutlich wird, wer die allgemeinen Interessen bestimmt. Diese Forderung zu Formierung zielt auf eine vorgegebene, gestiftete Ordnung. Es geht weniger um eine dynamische Weiterentwicklung als um ein Beharren auf dem Vorherigen. (Nitzschke (1966:256)) (88)

This variety of views and opinions is very different from the situation in the GDR, where such discussion is virtually unknown. This contrast mirrors the fact that in the GDR there are fewer contrasting influences to which schoolchildren can be exposed; the plurality of views and modes of behaviour actively promoted in the FRG is regarded in the GDR as Perspektivlosigkeit (Becker et al (1963:12) (89)). This fundamental

difference in approach is summed up by Stolt in her description quoted below of the different attitudes of readers in the FRG and the GDR to the texts with which they are confronted; what she says can also be applied to school-age readers dealing with school textbooks:

. . . jemand, der in der DDR schreibt, (muß) parteilich schreiben . . . Es ist die Aufgabe sowohl des Verfassers schöner Literatur als auch des Publizisten, das Bewußtsein des neuen sozialistischen Menschen zu bilden, seine Wertungen zu beeinflussen, und jeder, der also in der DDR ein Buch oder eine Zeitung aufschlägt, tut das mit dem Bewußtsein, daß er hier mit einer subjektiv wertenden Sprache konfrontiert wird und daß von ihm nicht kritische Objektivität verlangt wird, sondern nur, daß der mitdenkt und Wertungen mitvollzieht. Man muß sich klarmachen, daß diese Berücksichtigung der Leser-Perspektive einen ganz anderen Ausgangspunkt ergibt, wenn man Ost- mit West-Sprache konfrontiert. (Stolt (1973:2)) (90)

The schoolbook in the FRG thus fulfils less the role of consolidating what has already been learned elsewhere and providing additional information to fill gaps in one's factual knowledge, than that of attempting to systematise and clarify some of the influences to which pupils are exposed and to enable them to orientate themselves and develop their own opinions within the plethora of existing views.

The issue as to the relative effectiveness of the respective approaches of FRG and GDR to political education is, as stated, something with which it is impossible for us to deal here. In summary it can be said that political education in both FRG and GDR is seen as a preparation for participation in adult life as a conforming member of society. The meaning of "conformity" is, however, different in each state, and so the end and the means for achieving that end are also very different.

6 The East-West German language "rift"

Our concern in the present thesis is, as stated, to investigate the language of the textbooks used in schools in the two German states, with the aim of discovering ways in which political and social ideologies can be reflected in language; a concomitant of this investigation is an attempt to differentiate between the language used in the FRG and in the GDR. Whilst a quantification of any differences is not our main concern, and whilst we are not directly concerned with establishing whether a "split" is developing in the German language, there is a

considerable body of material on this topic on which we have drawn as a preliminary to our own analysis. This has provided both a stimulus and a warning, in that much of the early material produced on the East-West "rift" contains a number of conceptual and methodological shortcomings which we hope to have avoided in the present thesis.

The assumption underlying much of the early work on the East-West German language "rift" was that different forms of language use reflect different Weltanschauungen, and that linguistic change inevitably brings with it a change in consciousness and perception of extra-linguistic reality. This however remained implicit and hence unexamined. Thus Moser wrote in 1962 of the language of the GDR:

Bei den unmittelbar von der neuen Sprache Berührten, also für die Menschen im Osten Deutschlands, sind die Möglichkeiten, von deren Wirkung beeinflußt zu werden, besonders zahlreich und stark. Gibt sie doch nicht der objektiven, sondern einer ideologisch verwandelten Welt Ausdruck, und die Menschen geraten in ihrer Meinungsbildung wie bei der Reklame leicht in den Bann der Macht, die der Muttersprache innewohnt, indem sie die Denkbahnen mitbestimmt. (Moser (1962:46); see also *ibid*, p 9, 45; Haefs (1956); Maeder (1964:17); Scholz (1964:95); von Zahn (1964:140)) (91)

This view begs all sorts of questions as to the relationship between language and ideology both with specific regard to German and in general, which we have discussed above; it assumes an uncritical acceptance of new norms in parole and the inevitable reshaping by this of langue and consequently of perception. Maeder argues similarly that it is not possible to separate langue and parole, and change the one and not the other: not only does parole reflect langue, but also changes in parole, whether introduced "artificially" or arising "naturally", can cause changes in the langue itself (Maeder (1964:13f); see also von Zahn (1964:144)) (92). This view is implicit in the work of most other FRG writers of this period, if not stated outright. For example, Marx-Nordin sees the task of the linguist as being in principle to deal with langue, but points out that it is only possible to do this via a consideration of parole, with all its social, political and cultural aspects which influence the meanings of words (Marx-Nordin (1974:56)). She also points to the importance of style, which is traditionally regarded as a feature of parole and thus part of what she terms the Rinde of language; she sees style as particularly important in the study of propaganda where it becomes part of the meaning of an utterance (Marx-Nordin (1974:50)). It will be seen below that this view is close to the one we adopt in the present thesis.

GDR writers, whilst accepting in principle a close dialectical relationship between language and ideology, are more cautious with regard to the time-scale involved in the development of fundamental changes in langue. Thus Schippan writes:

Es ist durchaus nicht anzunehmen, daß gesellschaftliche Veränderungen nun unmittelbar zu Veränderungen im System der Sprache führen. Zeiten großer gesellschaftlicher Umwälzungen wirken immer nur vermittelt auf das Sprachsystem, bestimmte Elemente bleiben jahrhundertlang stabil. (Schippan (1974:86); see also Ihlenburg (1964:372, 396f); Bondzio (1971:220); Mueller (1973:41))

Scherzberg follows W Schmidt in abandoning the langue/parole division, but admits that

Wir wissen, daß 'Verwendungsweisen' der Sprache sich festigen und auf das System der Sprache einwirken können. (Scherzberg (1969:514))

The time-scale involved is, however, not mentioned.

In the FRG, Moser also questions the traditional classification of style as part of parole and its consequent relegation to an "extra-linguistic" field (Moser (1962:37f)); he sees the type of style used in the GDR, particularly in the political field, as being sufficiently widespread to represent more than simply a chance surface manifestation, and becoming more a feature of langue.

Whilst we bear in mind Dieckmann's warning that not everything that is described as being part of langue actually belongs there, but rather to parole, "weil es sich um Variationen einer Grundbedeutung handelt" (Dieckmann (1967:154)), and whilst we hope that in our analysis below we do not try to make too much out of too little in terms of linguistic features, it is nonetheless a basic premise of this thesis that the surface form of linguistic utterances (parole) can reflect important features of the world-view of the sender (langue/ideological deep-structure (see S J Schmidt (1972:62))). In adopting a Hallidayan functional method of analysis we abandon as irrelevant to our present investigation the traditional distinctions between langue and parole and competence and performance, and investigate simply the texts as they stand. We discuss further the importance of the work of Halliday and workers influenced by him in Part II.

FRG writers in the 1950s and 1960s regarded linguistic developments in the GDR as deviations from an (unidentified) norm; they saw the language as being manipulated by unscrupulous political activists in an attempt

to brainwash the people of the GDR and deceive them about the realities of their situation:

Es ist ein großer, systematischer Versuch, mit Hilfe der Sprache als eines Werkzeugs die Meinung zu steuern . . . Der gesamte Staats- und Parteiapparat wird eingesetzt, um die politische Sondersprache mit ihren neuen Wortkörpern und Wortinhalten einzuführen und anderes, Überkommenes, zurückzudrängen. (Moser (1962:44); see also Schierbaum (1964:31, 38f); Scholz (1964:95))

The change in GDR usage was seen as having its origin in the language of politics and economics, and specifically in the lexis of these areas, and the overwhelming majority of work done in the 1950s and 1960s on this topic deal exclusively with lexis (93); it was believed that the changes would inevitably spread from lexis to other areas and eventually reduce speakers from FRG and GDR to a state of mutual incomprehension (94), a situation which, at a time when German reunification was - at least ostensibly - both desired and sought, appeared intolerable.

Two major types of change were perceived:

- a) The use of new words and phrases which, because they did not exist in the Federal Republic, were, at least in the first instance, incomprehensible to people there (see for example Moser (1962:8f); Moser (1964:10); Scholz (1964:92f); Sturms (1964:119)). These referred in many cases to new institutions in the GDR, and many of them were influenced by Russian usage, either as loan translations or morphologically; this led some FRG writers to fear a total "russification" of the language (95). These fears have proved to be unfounded.
- b) A change in the use of existing words and phrases, either in terms of their meaning or of the frequency of their use. In the former case the GDR-usage was typically condemned as a distortion of the "true" meaning of the word, again however frequently with no attempt to define or justify that meaning (96).

These types of change often involved a change in the evaluative nature of the word: Moser discusses the positive revaluation of terms such as Agitation, Masse, Proletariat, the negative revaluation of other terms such as Bourgeoisie, Opportunismus, Kapitalismus, and the revaluation of Demokratie in a socialist sense (Moser (1962:32)).

These discussions are not further qualified, and Moser seems unaware or to dismiss the fact that in ML usage these terms have traditionally differed in terms of their evaluative components from non-ML usage. Moser argues further that an increase in emotive and evaluative

terminology is intended to reduce the rational element in language, and that GDR usage is intended as Appell rather than Darstellung (Moser (1962:41); see also Maeder (1964:19); Römer (1964b:67f)). This accords with our discussion above of the GDR system of (political) education. We return to this issue in our discussion of text-typology below.

FRG writers at this time frequently compared the official language of the GDR with that of National Socialism, and the whole process and policy of linguistic change was compared to the kind of Sprachregelung imposed by the Nazis (see for example Maeder (1964:21); Wood (1974:49); this occasionally still happens: see Bergsdorf (1979:116f)). The majority of these analyses were inspired at least as much by a half-formulated anti-communism and the desire to discredit the GDR as by the desire to further knowledge as to the state of the German language. The failure of many of these writers to examine and make explicit their own motives led to unbalanced and unscientific statements of belief, often backed up by only flimsy and inadequate evidence, rather than objective rational discussions of their material.

With regard to frequency, an increase in the number of occurrences of political and economic terminology was noted, and particularly their increased use in everyday language, which in the FRG is traditionally non-political (see for example Sturms (1964:123)); this was seen as part of a Politisierung aller Lebensbereiche (Sturms (1964:119f); see also Moser (1962:37f); Moser (1964:12); von Zahn (1964:142f); Marx-Nordin (1974:54f)). Apart from this the high frequency of particular phrases and slogans was noted, and deemed to be part of GDR/communist "style" (97). Moser lists the following features as typical of GDR style:

. . . der bevorzugte Gebrauch des oft verschwommenen Fremdworts ebenso wie die Formelhaftigkeit, der Wiederholungsstil, die superlativische Aussageweise, der kämpferische pathetische Charakter, die Verwendung von Invektiven, der Wir- und Muß-Stil. Es gehört dazu aber auch die Aufnahme von Wörtern und Wendungen aus der Alltagssprache, ja dem Slang. (Moser (1962:42)) (98)

This is a style which writers and speakers are said to be forced to adopt, unlike in the West, where

es besteht die Freiheit der Wahl, und die vorgetragenen Meinungen wie ihre sprachliche Formulierung sind unverbindlich. (Moser (1962:44); on West German style, see Kraft (1968:77); H Wagner (1981:21f))

This is another example of the clear support for the FRG and equally clear condemnation of the GDR that is characteristic of the work done at this time and which undermines many of the conclusions drawn. However, although the tone of what Moser writes is unacceptable today, his findings are largely correct, and we discuss in the section on text-typology in Part III the use in the school books of linguistic features such as those mentioned above.

During the time when FRG writers were worrying about a possible "split" in the German language, writers from the GDR, when they dealt with the issue at all (99), were concerned to emphasise the continuity within the language of which they regarded their usage as representing the latest stage; in their view, far from being an Abart (see Maeder (1964: 13f)), the language of the GDR had developed out of the language of the politicised working class and was traceable back to Marx and Engels. Ihlenburg traced this development via Lenin and the Russian language (Ihlenburg (1964:381f); von Zahn (1964:142) makes the same point, but disapproves of the development). GDR language was said to reflect the most progressive stage yet in the development of German society. Höppner wrote of the "Abspaltung Westdeutschlands vom deutschen Nationalverband" (Höppner (1963:576)) (100), and saw the GDR, and consequently its language, as representing the "real" post-war Germany (Höppner (1963:579)) whilst the FRG was simply a reincarnation of Fascism under another name (Höppner (1963:578)) (101). This view is still widely held in the GDR, and has led to outpourings from the GDR similar to the earlier ones from the FRG discussed above, and with much the same shortcomings: links with National Socialism are common (see for example Höppner (1963:383); Ihlenburg (1964:375); Neubert (1967:4)), as are accusations of the deliberate manipulation of language and people through vagueness and imprecision (see for example Höppner (1963:578); Ihlenburg (1964:377); Heyden (1968); Krah1 (1968); Heyde (1970); Kaiser (1970); W Schmidt (1972b:32); Hartung (1974:509f)). There are accusations that the unity of the German language is being destroyed through the influence of American and British English (see for example Ihlenburg (1964:383, 390f)). This last view is countered from the FRG by the claim that anglicisms are harmless since they are non-political (Moser (1962:10)), whilst the Russian usages in the GDR are mainly in the political field and thus more likely to affect the basic Weltanschauung and thereby effect a split in the German nation (Moser (1962:11)). Moreover, Moser shows that the influence of English,

even on German syntax, was discernible before the war, and thus could not be said to be a consequence of the division of Germany (Moser (1962:35f)) (102).

One finds frequent ideologically motivated attacks of one side on the other carried out on the basis of comparisons of the contents of the two editions of Duden (103); each side states that the definitions given by the other are wrong and deliberately designed to mislead. In most cases each side fails to differentiate between "official" or dictionary meanings, and the actual use made by speakers of words, which are not necessarily the same, and attributes malevolent motives to those who propagate word-meanings different from those accepted in the author's own state. GDR writers at this time are however concerned to distinguish between the linguistic usage of the working class and that of the bourgeoisie: whilst FRG writers fear a "vertical", ie East/West split in the German language, GDR writers welcome this "horizontal" division, which they see manifested also in the FRG, as an indication of the inevitable triumph of Socialism. Ihlenburg writes:

Es handelt sich bei den unterschiedlichen Erläuterungen in den beiden Duden nicht in erster Linie um sprachliche Unterscheidungen. Diese sind nur Ausdruck einer unterschiedlichen begrifflichen Widerspiegelung der Wirklichkeit. Diese begrifflichen Widerspiegelungen sind klassengebunden. Ein Angehöriger einer unterdrückten Gesellschaftsschicht sieht und begreift viele Dinge der Realität grundsätzlich von einem anderen Standpunkt als ein Angehöriger der herrschenden Klasse. Es ist deshalb richtig, daß es sich bei derartigen sprachlichen Unterschieden "in erster Linie nicht um Unterschiede im Sprachsystem, sondern um Gegensätze zwischen den durch die Sprache bezeichneten, klassengebundenen Begriffssystemen" handelt. (Ihlenburg (1964: 379)) (104)

As noted above, the vast majority of the early works from both FRG and GDR concentrated on lexis as the area of language where change is most rapid and most obvious (see for example Seidel (1972:161); H Wagner (1981:19)). Valuable taxonomic work was done on neologisms and changes in meaning and frequency, and in the type of vocabulary used in the GDR, and we were able to apply these insights in the preparation of our own analyses. Studies of syntax are much less frequent, partly, one suspects, because the relative amount of labour connected with a syntactic analysis as compared with a purely lexical one is so much greater, but mainly because syntax was regarded as virtually unaffected by the political division of Germany in the first instance. Moser recognised

that in the long term syntax is bound to be affected too, and mentioned a series of English-style constructions to be found in the German of the FRG, as compared with a smaller number of Russian-style constructions from the GDR, which he saw as affecting "das Gerüst der Sprache" (Moser (1962:35); see also Kinne and Strube-Edelmann (1980: 6, 7)). Von Zahn wrote:

Veränderungen im Wortschatz sind am auffälligsten und am leichtesten greifbar, aber durch die Abschließung eines Teils der deutschen Sprachgemeinschaft ist auf die Dauer auch die Struktur der ganzen Sprache bedroht. (von Zahn 1964:141))

Schaeder (1981) shows that most of the work undertaken more recently was also concerned only with lexis. Kraft (1968) is a relatively rare account of syntactic change in the GDR, where she notes Russian influence in the increased use of the attributive adjective+noun construction rather than of compound nouns, which she sees as a move away from the "pure" German structures still to be found in the FRG (Kraft (1968:72)). Similarly, Römer writes in her discussion of Das Motiv der Bewegung in der Sprache der SED:

Die Dynamik der SED-Sprache ist nur eine Scheindynamik. Diese Sprache verwendet einen Bewegungsbegriff nach dem anderen, aber sie selbst ist einförmig und starr, von einer bisher nicht erhörten Formelhaftigkeit, in unendlicher Wiederholung jegliche geistige Substanz aufzehrend . . . Der Widerspruch zwischen dem formalen Gehalt der kommunistischen Sprache an Bewegungswörtern und der Stagnation des wirtschaftlichen und geistigen Lebens kann nicht groß genug vorgestellt werden. (Römer (1964:181))

It is thus clear that the attitudes of the FRG writers demonstrated in the work done on lexis are by and large also to be found in their work on syntax (105).

A turning-point in the debate in the FRG is represented by Dieckmann (1967) in which he takes to task work done previously on the East-West rift in the FRG, of which he writes:

Das methodische Interesse ist - mit wenigen Ausnahmen - nur schwach entwickelt und wird häufig genug vom politischen überdeckt. (Dieckmann (1967:136))

Whilst he admits that much valid work had been done he criticises the over-simple equating of linguistic and political facts, the unquestioning acceptance by most FRG writers of the view that language can quickly and completely change people's views of the world, and the general view that the FRG and its language are the only valid norm by which to measure other forms of the German language. He points out the 19th century origins of much ML terminology, links the languages of the

SED and the Nazis only under the heading of Werbesprache, and points out that German is not a homogeneous language, but consists of many sub-types and -systems, although he admits that with the decline of regional dialects and the influence of English it is becoming more uniform, and, moreover, usage in FRG and GDR are becoming increasingly similar (Dieckmann (1967:154, 161)) (106). Hellmann credits Dieckmann with having raised the level of the debate in the FRG on this topic (Hellmann (1976:74)) (107), and the tone of the work done in this area since Dieckmann's article has in general been much less polemical and more scientific.

Since approximately 1970 the fire has largely gone out of the East-West rift debate, possibly as a result of the easing of political relations and a general coming to terms with contemporary reality on both sides. Whilst political, economic and ideological divergence has continued, and been consolidated, an atmosphere of mutual tolerance has developed (108). The stances of the two sides have shifted fairly dramatically since the early days: whereas formerly FRG writers were concerned to illustrate the rift being made in the language by GDR usage, and whilst GDR writers saw the change rather as a result of the working class and its language gaining the upper hand in the GDR and pushing aside the bourgeoisie and its language, present-day FRG writers tend to emphasise the essential unity of the language despite some differing surface manifestations (109), whilst GDR writers argue that a separate national language is developing in the GDR along with its separate national identity and national consciousness. This contrasts with the extract quoted from Ihlenburg above, and follows Ulbricht's statement made in 1970 that "Die einstige Gemeinsamkeit der Sprache ist in Auflösung begriffen" (see Schaefer (1981:198)). In line with the ML view that language is shaped by the society that uses it, GDR linguists now argue that since the economic and political structure of the GDR is different and separate from that of the FRG, it follows that the two states can no longer form a single Sprachgemeinschaft (110). Lerchner, for example, writes in this regard:

Die Veränderungen im Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache in der DDR sind insgesamt so umfassend und tiefgreifend, daß sie den Fortbestand einer deutschen Nationalsprache hier und in der BRD ernsthaft in Frage stellen. (Lerchner (1974:263), quoted in Schaefer (1981:198); see also Kinne and Strube-Edelmann (1980:6))

Whilst FRG writers admit that individual words or stylistic features of GDR German strike the visitor from the FRG as strange or different, they

nonetheless regard them as still part of the same language. Pelster writes after a visit to the GDR:

Die deutsche Sprache war mehr Brücke als Hindernis, mehr Grundlage, auf der kommunikative Gemeinschaften zu bilden waren, als Barriere, die Verständigung vereitelt hätte (Pelster (1981:130)),

and concludes:

Wo die Muttersprache in solcher Weise Verbindungen herstellen läßt, können sich die Verbundenen durchaus als "Sprachgemeinschaft" interpretieren. (Pelster (1981:144)) (111)

It is clear from the above discussion that, whilst the standard of work produced recently in the two German states on the topic of the division or otherwise of the language has improved, the fundamental positions of the FRG and the GDR are as far apart as ever. The issue as to whether the language used in the two German states represents variations on a single language, or two separate languages, is one into which we cannot go further here.

7 The concept of "critique"

As we discussed in the previous section, many of the early critiques from the FRG on linguistic developments in the GDR were motivated as much by strong feelings of anti-communism on the part of the writers as by any coherent and consistent linguistic theory; and their results, whilst providing valuable documentation of the development of a particular register of German, do little to develop linguistic theory or to prove that the German language is being "split". In particular the writers fail to make clear what they are taking as their norm of "the German language" against which to compare developments in the GDR. They imply the existence of an (unidentified) "pure" form of German, influenced by political usage of neither left nor right, to which Dieckmann refers as "eine sprachtheoretische Hypothese ohne Realitätsbezug" (Dieckmann (1967:160)), and in so doing fail to do full justice to their subject matter. Almost invariably the language of the GDR is regarded as a deviation from "pure" or "correct" usage, and in as far as this latter is defined at all it is usually equated with the language of the FRG. Dieckmann points out ironically that many of the articles produced in the FRG at this time suggest, as a result of their concern to illustrate the "malign" developments in the GDR, that the language of the FRG has remained unchanged in the post-war

years and thus, logically, the linguistic usage of the FRG must be the same as that of the National Socialists (Dieckmann (1973:143); see also Moser (1962:20) where he appears to be suggesting the same thing).

Whilst this was clearly not the intention of these writers, the fact that such a suggestion can be read into their works illustrates the conceptual confusion and lack of a rigorous theoretical framework from which much of the early work suffered. Schierbaum's statement that GDR language is inadequate for expressing some of the concepts involved in the FRG's version of reality may be correct (Schierbaum (1964:27)), but his consequent condemnation of GDR language as "kommunistische begriffliche Verfremdung" (Schierbaum (1964:28)) demonstrates his failure to countenance the possibility of alternative Weltanschauungen to his own having any validity. It is typical of the fundamental anti-communism and unquestioning acceptance of the political and moral superiority of the FRG which runs throughout much of the early work (112).

The problems encountered by these writers are summed up by Pêcheux as follows:

Linguists and those who appeal to linguistics for various purposes often run up against difficulties which arise because they ignore the action of the ideological effects in all discourses - including even scientific discourses. (Pêcheux (1982:105); see also Good (1975:19) on ideologische Interferenz; see similarly Lübke (1967:363); Dieckmann (1969:14, 27, 61, 69, 83); Michel (1969:500); Uhlig (1972:23f); Bachem (1979:55, 117f))

GDR writers, starting with Höppner and Ihlenburg, welcome the great changes that are taking place in the society and language of the GDR as progressive and beneficial, and condemn the anti-communism of the FRG writers and their failure to recognise what Höppner calls "die unmittelbare Unterordnung von Wissenschaft und Kultur unter die Monopole im staatsmonopolistischen Bonner Staat" (Höppner (1963:577); see also Ihlenburg (1964:372f)).

In the present thesis we do not regard the language of either German state as a norm from which the other might be said to deviate, but treat them both as equally valid; we deal, not with "correctness" or "deviance" in language, but with "differences in meaning and usage existing alongside one another "synchronically"" (Good (1975:13)).

We do not go as far as Marx-Nordin (1974:202) who does not undertake a comparative study of the language of FRG and GDR because she sees the functions of language as being too fundamentally different in the two states to permit this. We believe that the texts in our corpus fulfil equivalent purposes in the FRG and the GDR, and are thus comparable on this level alone. Marx-Nordin also points to the danger of interference from unexamined political evaluations on the part of the analyst in an investigation of this kind; we believe that it is possible to reduce this danger by applying a strong and coherent linguistic theory to the material involved.

In the light of the above discussion the issue of the standpoint of the analyst and the danger of ideological interference in the work of the linguist is an important one which needs clarification at this point. Dieckmann writes on this issue as follows:

Vertraut man den Einleitungen und Schlußworten, so ist das eigentliche "Anliegen" eher ein politisches, ein menschliches, ein ethisches als ein sprachwissenschaftliches: denn alle Arbeiten sind verbunden in Klage und Anklage: Klage über die Teilung, Anklage der SED; Mitleid mit den Unterdrückten, Furcht vor den Machthabern und ihrer Propaganda, Prophezeiung einer schrecklichen Zukunft, wenn die Teilung anhält . . . Zum politischen Problem der Teilung hat die Sprachwissenschaft nichts zu sagen, was man nicht auch ohne sie wüßte. Ihr Gebiet ist die Sprache und zwar die Sprache, wie sie sich heute bietet. (Dieckmann (1967:165); see also *ibid*, p 136; H Wagner(1981:20f))

The present thesis also takes this view. We are not concerned with a critique or evaluation of either of these ideologies; the language of each set of texts in our corpus is regarded as an equally valid example of a particular register of German (113), and the same analytical criteria are applied to all texts. We are aware of the danger of allowing ideological presuppositions to cloud our judgement; indeed, it is one of the fundamental premises of this thesis that language and perception are closely linked and that the former can influence the latter to the extent that alternative views are rendered difficult. It is also our contention, however, that individuals are not necessarily the "prisoners" of their language, in the sense that it is impossible for them to develop or change their beliefs and their linguistic habits in the light of conscious and critical reflection; it is manifestly clear in the real world that the views of individuals can and do change fundamentally, that propaganda is not all-powerful, that creative thought and linguistic creativity go hand-in-hand.

Whilst we take cognisance of Mannheim's view that all knowledge is partial and historically determined, and that it is impossible to achieve a full and complete view of reality (see Mannheim (1969) *passim*), we do not regard this as meaning that all scientific endeavour is thereby rendered futile. We believe that it is possible for the linguist to achieve a critical distance from the language under investigation, and to make valid statements as to the nature of that language, without his own "ideological presuppositions" necessarily clouding the analysis.

The Parteilichkeit demanded by ML and demonstrated until recently in the work of all writers from the GDR results, like the FRG works mentioned above, from the belief that one's own ideology is the correct one and that all others can only be judged accurately in the light of that ideology. However, this kind of "bewußtes Eintreten für die Sache des Sozialismus, für die Sache der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer marxistischen Kampfpartei" (Kinne and Strube-Edelmann (1980:142)) (114) differs from the typical emotive reactions of the early FRG writers in that it stems from a conscious decision to take a particular ideological stance, and is based on a detailed and reasoned body of ideological analysis and belief, whilst the ideology underlying the work of the FRG writers is much less explicit and their reactions largely the automatic and pre-conscious result of the assimilation of an unsystematic and largely pre-theoretical anti-communism. Many FRG writers claim to be taking an impartial stance and to be examining only the linguistic data in the form in which they present themselves to the observer, and to base their conclusions on the results of an empirical analysis. Their failure to examine the ideological presuppositions underlying this view of academic research and to make explicit their own position within the tradition frequently leads them, as we have seen, to make ideologically-coloured judgements and to equate their own beliefs with objective scientific truth.

In our view neither traditional ML Parteilichkeit nor the pseudo-impartiality of many FRG writers represents a satisfactory basis for an analysis of the present kind, where the linguist constantly risks crossing the fluid border between Sprachkritik and Ideologiekritik and where this risk is all the greater and all the more likely to go unnoticed if there is no coherent body of linguistic theory underlying and informing the analysis (115).

ML Parteilichkeit is unsatisfactory because, even if one were to accept that the working class is the most progressive element in society and that every effort must be made to support and further its struggle to become the dominant element, the subordination and enforced assimilation of a linguistic theory to this pre-existing sociological and ideological tenet must inevitably cause a distortion in the linguistic theory and may lead to misleading results and inaccurate conclusions.

Similarly, the typical "western" belief in the virtues of impartiality and empiricism and the claim that one is being impartial and unpolitical can, as was demonstrated above, be a smokescreen behind which one leaves unexamined one's own political beliefs and prejudices; this too can lead to unbalanced and false conclusions.

An exclusive concentration on language and the shutting out of all social and political considerations - or at least a critical appraisal of these - from the analysis is also an unsatisfactory solution to the problem; whilst we agree with Reich that "politische Urteile zu fällen, ist nicht Sinn einer sprachwissenschaftlichen Untersuchung" (Reich (1968:321) quoted in Dieckmann (1973:96)), it is our belief that, in order to undertake an analysis of political language it is necessary to take into account the ideological context in which that language originated. By this we mean not simply the uncritical rehearsing and acceptance at face-value of the stated ideological beliefs of the sender, which is what the UEA-linguists accuse the bulk of mainstream sociolinguistics of doing (116), but rather a critical appraisal of particular features of the ideology and of the way in which these are reflected - or not - in the language of the sender. This appraisal need not necessarily be destructive and we undertake our critique not with the a priori intention of "debunking" mystificatory language and manipulative ideological structures; neither do we necessarily intend to be supportive of the ideology or to defend the language in which it is encoded (see Dieckmann (1973:103f); Kress and Hodge (1979) *passim*; Fowler (1980) *passim*).

We follow Dieckmann in perceiving Ideologiekritik as a branch of sociology (see Dieckmann (1973:92)) (117), and thus it lies outside our area of competence to criticise the ideology of either FRG or GDR in any systematic or scientific fashion; we are however able to point to those areas of the prevailing ideologies of the two states where presuppositions exist and are not questioned, or where lexis and

syntax reveal interesting tensions between ideology and reality, and simply question the validity of various aspects of the ideologies as part of but essentially subordinate to our major concern of Sprachkritik (118).

We base our analysis on the view of Fowler et al that "there are strong and pervasive connections between linguistic structure and social structure" (Fowler et al (1979:185)). We leave aside the issue as to whether in an analysis of this kind social structure and extralinguistic reality in general, or language, should be regarded as primary in the creating and maintaining of ideology; the two are clearly involved in a complex relationship and greatly influence each other, but it is not the task of the present thesis to investigate the precise nature of this relationship. Similarly, we do not enter into the discussion as to whether a sociolinguistic analysis of this kind necessitates a prior analysis and critique of the society in question, except to state that a) it is clearly impossible to do an analysis of this kind without reference to the society involved, but that b) it is neither possible nor necessary in the present thesis to present an exhaustive critique of the societies and ideologies of the FRG and the GDR as a preliminary to our main analysis of the language. Since the same words and the same linguistic structures have different meanings in different contexts, it is clearly necessary in an investigation of the present kind to be aware of and to take into account fundamental information as to the origin of the language being analysed: a political speech may be quoted in identical form in both FRG and GDR textbooks, but the function of the quotation, and consequently its meaning in each specific context, will be radically different. As Kress and Trew point out, one needs to know "what to look for from a knowledge of the ideologies relating to the topic in question" (Kress and Trew (1978a:763)) (119). We therefore make reference to the contemporary social and ideological situations in FRG and GDR wherever this is necessary to illuminate a point in our discussion of the language.

One of the UEA linguists' main arguments against traditional sociolinguistics is that, while it perceives links and correlations between language use and social structure, it makes no attempt to go beyond simply stating these relationships to analyse the kind of social structure involved, the positions of individuals within it and the role of

language in maintaining the status quo (see for example Fowler et al (1979) preface and ch 10). They argue that a linguistic analysis can be an important tool, the "activity of demystification" (Fowler et al (1979:196)) of language that is used to maintain existing power-relations, and that it is the task of the linguist to reveal the manipulatory nature of this language. This is what they call "critical linguistics" (see Fowler et al (1979) esp ch 10) (120). We go along with this view to the extent that we believe that it is possible by means of linguistic analysis to gain insights into the mechanisms whereby social structures are created and maintained, and that it is interesting and valuable to do this; however, beyond this point we do not offer an evaluation of that structure or recommendations as to how to change it. We hope to illuminate some areas of language and society where presuppositions exist which are not normally questioned, and to illustrate the interplay between language and society; we do not venture into the realms of political philosophy or critical sociology. If our analysis can subsequently be utilised as part of an Ideologiekritik, so be it, but we regard this analysis as primarily linguistic, and not as part of a Hilfswissenschaft subsidiary to another discipline (see Dieckmann (1973:121f)) (121).

In summary, we align ourselves with Fowler's statement that:

A student of the way language works within the matrix of human society can make certain revealing observations about the nature of persuasive language without involving himself in judgement on the process or the persuader. (Fowler (1974:256)) (122)

8 Conclusion

We have demonstrated in Part I aspects of the reciprocal influence of language and ideology, and discussed ways in which knowledge of this influence is made use of in the systems of political education in the GDR and the FRG. It is believed that the language by means of which a concept or an aspect of extralinguistic reality is described can affect the perception of that concept by the receiver of the message. We discuss this point in more detail in the section on psychology in Part II.

We are not suggesting that language has a permanent or immutable effect

on perception, however; as was mentioned above in connection with Orwell's 1984, linguistic creativity operates in circumstances where the existing language is perceived to be inadequate, and new forms of expression are found, either in order to express existing concepts in a new way, or to express new concepts altogether. Thus we are not suggesting that the language of the school textbooks in our corpus will necessarily have a permanent effect on the readers' views of the world. Rather we believe that if the schoolchildren who are exposed to these texts simply absorb them and assimilate the contents as they stand and in the linguistic form in which they stand, and do not at a later stage return to them and reassess them in the light of additional knowledge and experience, it is likely that their views in adulthood will be to a great extent shaped by them. This is very different from saying that the views developed during the initial process of political socialisation are impossible to change. Neither school system is operating in an educational or linguistic vacuum, and schoolchildren in both states are exposed to influences other than those of the school. As we have shown above, this fact is recognised and taken account of in the FRG. GDR pedagogues are, however, concerned to make the universe of experience of their pupils, at least as far as ideology is concerned, as closed and homogeneous as possible, by limiting and controlling the linguistic and informational material available. Their efforts in this are bound to fail, since the universe is not closed: FRG television can be received in the GDR, and FRG and other western visitors are not uncommon. This does not invalidate our efforts in the present thesis, however, since we are concerned with the school textbooks as they are written and with the views they are intended to transmit, rather than with the views that the pupils actually develop.

In Part II we discuss, as part of the linguistic framework of the thesis, work that has been done in the fields of political language and propaganda, pragmatics, psychology and pedagogics, with regard to the ways in which language can affect perception, ie contribute to the development of an ideology in an individual. We are concerned in this thesis with ideological language in the widest sense, and investigate, by means of a close reading of the texts in our corpus, precisely what is being taught to the schoolchildren in the two German states. We aim to discover any examples of linguistic ambiguity or obfuscation, where pedagogues are attempting to present to the pupils a particular view of an issue, but where the language employed reveals areas of ideological

uncertainty or controversy. We do this by means of a Hallidayan-type analysis as discussed in Part II.

Notes

- 1 For a discussion of shortcomings in books used in these "minority" schools, see Nitzschke (1966:248f).
- 2 Böttcher (1978:70) states that a typical school textbook reaches 100 000 schoolchildren per year.
- 3 See Bömer-Wulff and Klaus (1978:593); see also Bettien and Jacobi (1978:693, 696) on the more balanced approach of Gesellschaft und Politik as compared with other textbooks under discussion.
- 4 See also Wienold (1972:146) on the differing reactions of different readers to the same text.
- 5 Like W Schmidt, we take school textbooks to be representative of the received "official" ideology of the state: see W Schmidt (1969a:469); on the issue of linguistic subgroups see for example: Ihlenburg (1964:378); Dieckmann (1967:162) where he discusses different groups' understandings of the term Freiheit depending on their social and political positions; Kraft (1968:67); W Schmidt (1972b:31). On the issue of social subgroups see for example Mackensen (1973:34, 37); Mueller (1973:52f, 101f). On the problems of comparing texts from FRG and GDR see for example Bachem (1979:144f).
- 6 Halliday undertakes a synchronic investigation of English, whilst recognising that language is constantly changing, either naturally or as a result of outside intervention: see for example Halliday (1975b:866f). Firth sees language as a link from the past to the present and the future, and change thus as part of a continuum: see Firth (1957a 184).
- 7 This is what Mackensen (1973:29f) calls "das 'Worten' der Welt"; see also Helbig (1961) passim; S J Schmidt (1972a:86f); Mueller (1973:13); Guchman (1975:716); Kofler (1975:9f); Edelman (1977:4); Pêcheux (1982:104) on the close identification of ideology and the unconscious. Whilst we are not concerned in this thesis with developing a theory of the sociology of knowledge or the collective unconscious, there are clear connections between our work and these fields, and cross-references are made where necessary. As far as Pring is concerned, the theoretical basis of our thesis is so obviously correct as not to require any further discussion:

It is obvious (and trite) . . . that our beliefs are influenced by the nature of the society into which we are born (and the language of that society). (Pring (1972), quoted in Harris (1973:85)).
- 8 See for example the following quotation from Uhlig (1972:20):

Wir sind der Meinung, daß sich die sprachexogene gesellschaftliche Realität mit ihren spezifischen Bedingungen in nicht geringem Maße in der Äußeren (d.h. in der Sprachstruktur) und der inneren Handhabung der Sprache (d.h. in der Inhaltsintention) manifestiert, d.h. die sprachendogene Seite der gesellschaftlichen Realität wird durch die sprachexogene Realität determiniert oder, bei Vertauschung der Perspektive, die sprachexogene Realität kommt

bilateral durch die sprachendogene Seite der gesellschaftlichen Gesamtheit zum Ausdruck.

- 9 The discussion as to the true nature of reality, and the possibility or otherwise of our ever really being able to know it, is one into which we cannot go here; for reasons of convenience we take the view that there exists a more or less stable external reality that is interpretable in different ways to different people according to their standpoint. It is our contention that this standpoint is both mediated and created by language. See eg Taylor (1976:304-5); also Harris (1973:90), where the proposition is discussed that language could have developed in such a way as to highlight other aspects of reality than those that are actually highlighted. This "relativism" is taken for granted by sociologists.
- 10 See also Arnold and Sinemus (1974:424) on Whorf:
Die Hypothese (von dem sprachlichen Determinismus) impliziert eine vollständige Determinierung des Denkens durch die Sprache.
See also Henle (1958:1f); Michel (1967:259); Höppner (1971:153); Römer (1973:46-89); Schober (1974:28f); Lloyd (1977:144f); Hodge and Kress (1974) passim.
For a wide-ranging consideration of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and discussions both for and against it, see Pinxten (1976).
For a spirited account and defence of Whorf's work see Fishman (1982); also Gipper (1971).
- 11 See Orwell, 1984 (Penguin 1974:241):
The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible. It was intended that when Newspeak had been adopted once and for all and Oldspeak forgotten, a heretical thought - that is, a thought diverging from the principles of Ingsoc - should be literally unthinkable.
See similarly Müller (1871:590):
"Language is nothing more than 'the outward form and manifestation of thought'". (Quoted in Ardener (1971:13))
- 12 See Taylor (1976:304-5):
The basic human perceptual-cognitive capacities are . . . outside the influence of languages, although perceptual-cognitive performances are often influenced by languages . . . We may have to conclude that the principle of linguistic relativity is valid, but in a weak or shallow version. There is more opportunity for linguistic relativity to be important as the domain of discourse becomes more abstract and removed from direct perception.
See also Betz (1965:43); Hartung (1974:184-5) on languages in the USSR; Allen, in Lloyd (1977:142).
- 13 See Borger and Seaborne (1966:187); also Harris (1973:87) on social relativism in thought as described in anthropology; also W Schneider (1976) passim.

- 14 We develop this point later in the thesis. See also W Schmidt (1969a:465) on the semantische Adäquatheit of the message to the context; also Bracher (1979:85f). Pateman believes that "as a consequence of their ignorance of the language of radical and revolutionary politics" conservative members of the working class are unable to understand such politics or to think in such terms: see Pateman (1975), discussed in Kochmann (1978), here p 117.

- 15 See similarly Schumann (1970:179), quoted here from Uhlig (1972:53):

Sprache stimmt das Individuum in ideologische Vor-
gegebenheiten ein - die gesellschaftliche Handhabung
der Sprache durch soziale Klassen oder politische
Gruppen innerhalb des vorgegebenen ideologischen
Rahmens soll das Bewußtsein des Individuums wiederum
ideologisch verfestigen.

- 16 See also Ammer (1961:70); Keßler (1973:203f); Albrecht (1971:184) states that all words need a class-based definition in order to be meaningful; Michel (1972:116); Schmidt and Harnisch (1972:66-7); Waller (1972:16); Hartung (1975:77, 430f); Jaeschke (1975:143, 148); Schelsky (1979:20) writes that the working class in the FRG must not learn the language of the ruling class if the class struggle is to continue.

- 17 See also Höppner (1971) *passim*; also Kirchgäßner (1971:254); Bisseret (1979:75); Lockwood (1956) takes a different view: see for example p 927 where he argues that each nation has a single language which cannot be rigidly divided up on class-lines.

- 18 See also Hartung (1974:199f), where he discusses capitalism's rejection of this view, and the exploitation of people's "insecurity" through advertising. See also Berger and Luckmann (1967:78); Kirchgäßner (1971:255).

- 19 See the following:

Da (die Arbeiterklasse) die historisch letzte und
fortschrittlichste Klasse darstellt, ist ihre Ideologie
. . . wissenschaftlich und kann somit Allgemein-
gültigkeit und Verbindlichkeit beanspruchen.
(DDR-Handbuch 1979:547)

- 20 See for example Kirchgäßner (1971:254):

Immer verstand und versteht es der klassenbewußte
Arbeiter . . . die Interessen seiner Klasse mit
klarem Blick zu erfassen und allen bürgerlich-
gelehrsamten Rechtsverdrehungen zum Trotz auch
sprachlich mit erstaunlichem Geschick zu vertreten.

See also Keßler (1973:205) on a class-based/scientific view of the world.

- 21 See for example: Betz (1965:37); Michel (1967:259, 265); Good (1975:19); Nestler (1975:3); Taylor (1976:275, 294); Fleischer (1977:3); Kofler (1977:9, 47-8); Göppner (1978:168); Ungeheuer (1974) *passim*.

- 22 See also Mueller (1973:104); Christenson (1972:14), where he

defines ideology as:

a formula of ideas through which the universe is perceived, understood and interpreted. The vast and complex reality of nature and human community is rendered more intelligible, hospitable and meaningful by ideology.

Also Seliger (1976:120):

An ideology is a belief system by virtue of being designed to serve on a relatively permanent basis a group of people to justify in reliance on moral norms and a modicum of factual evidence and self-consciously rational coherence the legitimacy of the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order.

- 23 See also Putnam (1970:4f); Christenson (1972:5); Mueller (1973:101f), for all of whom ideology is confined to the political sphere. Similarly Schliwa (1968a) differentiates between Alltagsideologie and wissenschaftlich fundierte Ideologie (see Jaeschke (1975: 148). On this topic in general, see Ulshöfer (1971:100); Rucktäschel (1972:92); Waller (1972:10).
- 24 See also Althusser (1970:27, 29); Good (1975:9) on ideology as "ein geschlossenes Begriffs- und Wertsystem".
- 25 See for example Hopster's use (1970:12) of the negatively evaluative term ideologieverdächtig, and his equation (1970:24) of ideology with lack of truth. See also Christenson (1972: 5, 21); Scholwin (1971:320f); Waller (1972:11); Mueller (1973:103).
- 26 See for example W Schmidt (196a:471); Waller (1972:11); O'Dell (1978:29); Harnisch (1974:67) equates ML ideology and science.
- 27 See also George (1975:79), where he refers to socialisation as the zweite Geburt des Menschen. The fact that the process of "growing into" adult society is not automatic is illustrated for instance by the case of feral children, who cannot socialise themselves even at this basic level, without the intervention of adults; similarly, mentally handicapped children may never be fully socialised, even with adult help.
- 28 See also Hartung (1974:220f):
Das innere System der Persönlichkeit als die Gesamtheit der Dispositionen des Leistungs- und des Sozialverhaltens bildet sich in der aktiven Auseinandersetzung mit der Umwelt heraus. Diese Auseinandersetzung ist gesellschaftlich-kooperativ und deshalb ohne kommunikative Tätigkeit nicht denkbar.
- 29 - die Homunkulus-Theorie einer rein nativistischen Entwicklungs- oder Characterpsychologie
- die Robinson-Auffassung einer psychologistischen Lerntheorie, bei der der soziale Charakter der menschlichen Umwelt nicht problematisiert wird
- die Nullmännchen-Auffassung einer soziologistischen Rollentheorie, bei der die "psychologische Umsetzung" der sozialen Werte und Normen durch einen Lernprozeß unberücksichtigt bleibt: (Göppner (1978:55)).

See *ibid* p 42-85 for a general discussion of socialisation. See also Berger and Luckmann (1967:56), where they describe socialisation as "participation in the common stock of knowledge"; Anger (1969:86) where he writes on Verinnerlichung; Seelig (1969:66-7); Geisler (1973:106); Schober (1974:79) on Bernstein's view of socialisation. For an ML view of the development of bourgeois socialisation theory see Meier (1974:61, 82).

- 30 See Berger and Luckmann (1967:150):

Primary socialisation is the first socialisation an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society. Secondary socialisation is any subsequent process that inducts an already socialised individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society.

See similarly Mueller (1973:23); Nyssen (1973a:44, 65) on Greenstein's "latent" and "manifest" socialisation.

- 31 See for example Mueller (1973) *passim*. Although Mueller has been criticised for too uncritical an acceptance of Bernstein's model of language and social structure (see Lee (1977)), the basic points which he makes are relevant to the present thesis. See also Priesemann (1977:109).

- 32 See for example the following quotation from Hanhardt (1970:1):

Political socialisation is a maintenance process of the political system, functioning as a means for inculcating succeeding generations of citizens with political values, norms and behaviour patterns.

Hanhardt adopts this definition from Almond and Powell (1966:64-72). See also Nitzschke (1966:273); Ulshöfer (1971:66); Geisler (1973:114); Harris (1973:54); Herkommer (1973:41); Nyssen (1973a:51, 63); Nimmo (1974:59f); H Wagner (1981:20).

- 33 See for example the following quotations:

Politische Sozialisation ist . . . wesentlich ein konservativer Prozeß, der die Erhaltung des status quo dadurch erleichtert, daß er die Menschen dazu bringt, das System, in dem sie geboren sind, zu lieben. (Nyssen (1973a:51));

In gewisser Weise ist Sozialisation dann ein Prozeß, der Menschen sicher macht. Der Prozeß wirkt auf die Möglichkeiten der Menschen selektiv ein, indem er im Laufe der Zeit ein Gefühl für die Unvermeidbarkeit einer bestimmten sozialen Struktur schafft und indem er die Zonen erlaubten Wandels absteckt. (Schober (1974:80), quoting Bernstein)

See also Meier (1974:73), who regards this process as part of Enkulturation; HRRG:15.

- 34 See for example Fischer (1973:61); Mueller (1973:6f) on "value crisis management" and the maintenance of society when the economy needs satisfying; Nyssen (1973a:45) discussing Easton and Hess (1966); Hartung (1974:193f).

- 35 See also Rucktäschel (1972), who takes a critical view of this process, seeing it as a way of keeping the masses quiet by pandering to their views and emotions, whilst giving them only

minimal education and information.

- 36 See for example the following quotations:

Versteht man Politik in einem demokratischen Sinne, also nicht als schiere Machtausübung und kommunikationslose Indoktrination, so wird sie zunächst immer ein Streit um Worte sein, der von den meisten Politikern als Streit um Sachen mißverstanden wird. (Glaser (1971:146));

If an individual has spent most of his lifetime in a political system dominated by directed communication, his language and consciousness will be shaped accordingly. (Mueller (1973:42))

See also Borger and Seaborne (1966:183); Berger and Luckmann (1967:153); Keßler (1973:204f).

- 37 See for example the following quotation:

In der Kooperation und Kommunikation mit anderen erwirbt der Mensch die nötigen sozialen Erfahrungen, nicht zuletzt auch über die Sprache, die eine besondere Form der Objektivation gesellschaftlicher Wesenskräfte darstellt. Die Sprache ist nicht nur schlechthin Verständigungsmittel, sondern auch Aneignungsgegenstand und insofern ein wichtiges Instrument für die Gesellschaftlichkeit des Menschen. (Meier (1974:87)). See also *ibid* p 73; Keßler (1973:203); Mueller (1973:35) where he discusses Lenin's views on the role of language in revolution and the creation of a new consciousness; Hartung (1974) *passim*; Fleischer (1977:2, 123).

- 38 See also Nestler (1975:2):

Die sprachliche Gestaltung des Lehrstoffes steht . . . in engem Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung geistiger Fähigkeiten. Die Sprache ist nicht nur die Form der Existenz, der Überlieferung und der Aneignung der gesellschaftlichen Erfahrungen und Mittel der Kommunikation, sondern vor allem Instrument der geistigen Tätigkeit.

See also Hartung (1974:458f).

- 39 See for example the following quotations:

(Der Lehrer) soll . . . den Schülern verdeutlichen, "daß sie bei der Wiedergabe eines Eindrucks ihre Wertung durch eine entsprechende Wahl der sprachlichen Mittel deutlich sichtbar machen" und vor allem bei der Überarbeitung des Entwurfs überprüfen müssen, "ob die sprachlichen Mittel Parteilichkeit und Gefühlswert der Aussage besonders unterstreichen" . . . Beim Erörterungsaufsatz üben die Schüler, "sprachliche Mittel, durch die sie ihre Parteinahme klar zum Ausdruck bringen können, zu verwenden". (Bergmann and Schubert (1971:598), quoting Lehrplan Klasse 9:1969, p 20, 21, and Lehrplan Klasse 10:1970, p 19);

Gleichzeitig verbindet sich damit die Notwendigkeit, unsere Jugendlichen noch besser dafür auszurüsten,

als Propagandisten der marxistisch-leninistischen Ideologie, unserer Weltanschauung, aufzutreten. (Jaeschke (1975:11)).

For a critique of western language see Drewitz (1963:58); see also Bergmann and Schubert (1971:598); Jaeschke (1975:139); Schmitt (1978:44); see Nestler (1975:25) where she discusses the issue of increasing the level of difficulty of school texts with each school year, including linguistic difficulty. This is an area into which we cannot go in the present thesis, and we treat all texts uniformly.

40 Cordes et al (1971) call for a critical reading of bourgeois texts, although their aims in this are not explicitly linguistic; see also Heller (1972:62); B-W Materialien p 2, 10.

41 An exception is Grünwaldt (1971:188), where he suggests a linguistic approach to emancipatory reading.

42 An exception to this is Hopster (1970) *passim*, esp p 24-5.

43 Bergsdorf (1979:14) takes a similar view:
Weil es in der Bundesrepublik keine Machtzusammenballung gibt, die fähig wäre, sprachliche Symbole dauerhaft mit parteilichen Inhalten zu füllen und den Gebrauch dieser Formeln mehr oder weniger verbindlich vorzuschreiben, ist jeder Teilnehmer an der politischen Auseinandersetzung fähig, für die Verständigungsfähigkeit unserer politischen Sprache und gegen ihre Zerstörung zu kämpfen.

44 Sontheimer and Bleek (1975:165) refer to this type of universe as "a closed and harmonious system of aims and values".

45 This is exemplified in Hesse, Entwurf:1:
(Das Grundgesetz und die hessische Verfassung) gehen davon aus, daß Interessenkonflikte existieren, die offen ausgetragen werden müssen, und daß es möglich und notwendig sei, Gegensätze/Kontroversen/Konflikte in immer neu zu findenden Kompromissen zu überbrücken.

See also H Wagner (1981:21-2).

This fundamental difference between the systems of political education in the two German states can be described in Bernstein's terms as a difference in "framing", which he describes as "strong" or "weak" depending on the relationship between the "transmitter" (teacher) and "acquirer" (pupil):

Strong framing. The transmitter controls the selection, organisation, pacing and the position, posture and dress.

Weak framing. The acquirer has more control over selection, organisation, pacing and the position, posture and dress. (Bernstein (1981:345))

In this classification the GDR system exhibits strong framing, whilst the FRG framing is weaker.

46 Im Verständnis des ML in der DDR ist das sozialistische Staatsbewußtsein (SSt) wesentlicher Bestandteil des gesellschaftlichen Bewußtseins, da der sozialistische Staat das Hauptinstrument der SED und der von ihr geführten Arbeiterklasse beim Aufbau der entwickelten

sozialistischen Gesellschaft ist. Das immer stärker werdende SSt der Menschen ist, nach Auffassung der SED, Ausdruck des "Bewußtwerdens der Zugehörigkeit zum sozialistischen Staat" in der DDR. Das spiegele die Überwindung der für kapitalistischeimperialistische Gesellschaften typischen Trennung von Individuum, Staat und Gesellschaft wider. (DDR Handbuch:824-5)
 See also Becker et al (1963:10); Dodd (1978) *passim* for a general account of political education in the GDR.

47 See Gesetz, preamble:85; also para 23, 4; Sontheimer and Bleek (1975:127f). There remains, however, some selection in education in the GDR, such as that for entry to special schools for those particularly talented in languages, science, sport etc: see Gesetz, para 18; Moore-Rinvolucris (1973:48f). There is also some discrimination in favour of those from working-class backgrounds or who are politically highly motivated: see Rausch and Stammen (1974:104). Nor has equality of opportunity of the two sexes yet been fully realised: despite their theoretically equal position in society women still generally find less well-qualified jobs than men, and are still over-represented in the "caring" professions, as is illustrated in the exclusive use in the law on education of the term Erzieherinnen in the context of kindergarten education: see Gesetz, para 11, 4.

48 See also the following quotation from Neuner et al (1976:37):
 Der Unterricht in den Gesellschaftswissenschaften führt in die Gesetzmäßigkeiten und Zusammenhänge der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung, des geschichtlichen Prozesses, der sozialen Beziehungen zwischen den Menschen, des Staates, der Ökonomie, der Moral ein, vermittelt in relativ geschlossener Weise die wissenschaftliche Ideologie der Arbeiterklasse und gibt somit eine Orientierung für aktives Handeln und Verhalten in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft und im Klassenkampf.

49 See for example the following quotation from Neuner et al (1976:48):

Familie, Freie Deutsche Jugend, Pionierorganisation "Ernst Thälmann", Betrieb, Fernsehen, Film und Rundfunk, Buch und Theater sind ebenfalls bedeutsame Bildungsmächte, Mittler sozialistischer Allgemeinbildung. Diese vielfältigen Bildungsbemühungen und Bildungsimpulse unserer sozialistischen Gesellschaft, die auf der Grundlagenbildung in der sozialistischen allgemeinbildenden Schule aufbauen, sie ergänzen und bereichern, gehören zur sozialistischen Allgemeinbildung und bestimmen wesentlich ihre neue Qualität.

See also Gesetz, para 25, 7 on the FDJ; Lehrplan, Klasse 7:5; Moore-Rinvolucris (1973:81); Brandis (1974:531) on the role of the FDJ and the Pioniere in political education in schools; Brandis (1974:532) on the role of parents in political education; Feige et al (1975:12); Neuner et al (1976:91); Schmitt (1978:45) on the family as a now neutral force in society and no longer in opposition; Schmitt (1978:38f, 46) on the FDJ.

50 See for example Neuner et al (1976:30, 57). The essentially confirmatory nature of the GDR education system is further

emphasised in the following quotation:

Es geht der politischen Erziehung - bei aller intellektualistischen Ausrichtung auf ein Klassen-bewußtsein - nicht so sehr um die Herausbildung von politischen Einstellungen, sondern vielmehr um ihre Qualität als Verhaltensdispositionen. (Schmitt (1978:43), emphasis in original)

51 See for example the following quotations:

Ausgehend von dieser untrennbaren Einheit von Wissenschaft und sozialistischer Ideologie ist der gesamte Inhalt der sozialistischen Allgemeinbildung von der Ideologie der Arbeiterklasse, dem ML, durchdrungen, und in verschiedenen Fächern ist der ML unmittelbar Unterrichtsgegenstand. Die Aneignung des Inhalts der sozialistischen Allgemeinbildung in einem wissenschaftlichen und parteilichen Fachunterricht wird damit zur entscheidenden Grundlage für die Ausbildung des sozialistischen Bewußtseins und Verhaltens, für die Herausbildung unserer sozialistischen Weltanschauung. (Neuner et al (1976:40));

Für Lenin und alle Marxisten verbindet sich Parteilichkeit mit der konsequenten Durchsetzung des materialistischen Standpunkts, so daß er sagen kann, der Materialismus "schließt sozusagen Parteilichkeit in sich ein, da er dazu verpflichtet ist, bei jeder Bewertung eines Ereignisses direkt und offen den Standpunkt einer bestimmten Gesellschaftsgruppe einzunehmen". (Klaus (1965:96), quoting Lenin.

See also the following from the GDR, which are basically in favour of Parteilichkeit: Becker et al (1963:172, 267); W Schmidt (1969a:463); Bergmann and Schubert (1971) passim; W Schmidt (1972a:79f); also the following from the FRG, which are basically against Parteilichkeit: Rother (1967:550); Brandis (1974:540); Betz (1977:11); from outside the German context: Minogue (1979:28f), who is also in favour of neutrality.

52 See for example the following quotation:

Vor allem wird die Überzeugung der Schüler vertieft und begründet, daß sich die Entwicklung der Gesellschaft gesetzmäßig vollzieht, daß der Untergang des Kapitalismus und der Sieg des Sozialismus in der Welt gesetzmäßig sind . . . Der Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht nimmt nachhaltig Einfluß auf die Entwicklung klassenmäßiger Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen der Schüler. Insbesondere erzieht er die Schüler zu Überzeugten Patrioten und Internationalisten . . . Er vertieft den Haß der Schüler gegenüber dem menschenfeindlichen Imperialismus und festigt ihre Bereitschaft, den Sozialismus zu schützen und zu verteidigen. (Neuner et al (1976:263))

See also Michel (1967:263, 268) on the danger of parteilich language becoming stereotyped and thus less effective; Nolte (1975:158) quoting Kruppa (1970:107-112); Neuner et al (1976: 52, 85, 262).

- 53 See for example the following quotations:
- . . . im Unterricht Wissenslücken (zu schließen) und in offensiver Weise Vorurteile, falsche Auffassungen und objektivistische Einstellungen (zu) untergraben und (zu überwinden). (Neuner et al (1976:53); see also *ibid*, p 65)
 - . . . daß die Schüler mit Hilfe ausgewählter aktueller Fakten über die wirkliche Stellung der Werktätigen im Kapitalismus die Verlogenheit imperialistischer Propaganda über die "Freiheit" in der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft erkennen. (Lehrplan, Klasse 8:23)
- 54 See also the following quotation:
- Parteilichkeit ist eine Grundhaltung, die das Lehren und Lernen im Unterricht durchzieht, ihnen das typische Gepräge des Unterrichts in der sozialistischen Schule verleiht . . . Parteilichkeit erfordert den ganzen Einsatz der Persönlichkeit für den Sozialismus und gegen den Imperialismus. Parteilichkeit ist eine Forderung an den Lehrer. Er erzieht seine Schüler gerade durch sein parteiliches Eintreten für das, was er lehrt, und für das, wofür er lebt . . . (Für den Schüler sind) Erkennen und Erleben mit dem Werten zu verbinden. (Neuner et al (1976:130-1))
- See also Hanhardt (1970:18) quoting "Die Frau im entwickelten gesellschaftlichen System des Sozialismus. Entschließung des 2. Frauenkongresses der DDR" in Staatsverlag der DDR (1969:687).
- 55 See for example Feige et al (1975:32), where a list of tasks to perform in connection with a particular text extends over half a page and concentrates exclusively on content without mentioning the language of the text involved.
- 56 See also Feige et al (1975:66); Neuner et al (1976:527); Fleischer (1977:122); Pêcheux (1982:203), where he writes of "the necessity for the existence under socialism of a kind of rhetoric in the sense of truth, involving elements which catch the eye and touch the heart before reaching the mind".
- 57 See for example Lehrplan, Klasse 10, *passim*. This is what H Wagner (1981:27f) calls "a total black and white approach".
- 58 Harnisch here draws a distinction between evaluative and emotive language, and decides that Erziehung is not emotive, although there are emotive elements in it.
- 59 See for example Bergmann and Schubert (1971:603); Hartung (1969:495); Bachem (1979:69) cites the following as an example of desirable language for GDR schoolchildren:
- Die Dreckschleuder der antisowjetischen, antikommunistischen Hetze arbeitet wieder bis zu den Grenzen ihrer Kapazität.
- 60 See also Becker et al (1963:47):
- Unsere Erziehung entspricht dem Wesen unserer sozialistischen Gesellschafts- und Staatsordnung; sie ist gerichtet auf friedliche, demokratische,

sozialistische und damit auf zutiefst humanistische Ziele. Bei uns soll und braucht der junge Mensch nicht über das Wesen der sozialen und politischen Ordnung, in der er lebt, getäuscht und für aggressive antidemokratische und antinationale Ziele mißbraucht zu werden.

- 61 See for example the following quotation from Meier (1974:250, 281):

Die Vermittlung zwischen Gesellschaft und Lernenden erfolgt in der sozialistischen Organisation "Bildungswesen" in erster Linie über die Lehrerkollektive, die zielgerichtet die von der Gesellschaft ausgewählten Gegenstände an den Lernenden herantragen . . . Die Autorität . . . des Lehrers leitet sich aus seiner Verantwortung vor der Arbeiterklasse für die Erreichung bestimmter Ziele, die Bewältigung bestimmter Aufgaben und die Einhaltung bestimmter Normen her.

See also *ibid*, p 241 on the authoritarian nature of the education system as a whole, and of the school class in particular; see also Schmitt (1978:39) on this.

- 62 See for example Anger (1969:90); Brandis (1974:538) quoting a discussion in Niermann (1973:136); Meier (1974:187-208) discusses work done in this field; Schmitt (1978:45) takes a different view, placing teachers at the bottom of his list of major influences on children. We return to this point briefly below.

- 63 See for example Neuner (1973:118) ;Feige et al (1975:286f). Meier (1974:286) takes a positive view of this approach: the individual has freedom of action within the correct guidelines; Brandis (1974:539) takes a negative view: "es läßt keine Alternative zu".

- 64 See for example Anweiler et al (1976:64); Schmitt (1978:46-7) writes that the pupils themselves do not like this approach and tend to reject the subject altogether.

- 65 See also the following quotations:

Die Lehrbücher helfen dem Lehrer, die Jugend zu gebildeten aufrechten Kämpfern für die Wahrheit, den Frieden, das sozialistische Vaterland, im Geiste des sozialistischen Internationalismus und der Freundschaft zu allen Völkern zu erziehen. . . . So lernen die Schüler in der DDR aus ihren Lehrbüchern die Wahrheit über die Geschichte unseres Volkes. Die Schulbücher führen die Jugend zur Erkenntnis der nationalen Rolle unseres Staates und der Aufgaben der Arbeiterklasse. (Becker et al (1963:11))

Das Lehrbuch als eins der traditionellen Lehrmittel und in ihm der Lehrtext als "Rückgrat" besitzt besondere Bedeutung für Wissenserwerb, Könnensentwicklung und Überzeugungsbildung. (Nestler (1975:2))

Here she is quoting Eisenhuth (1974)

and Boldyrew, Gontscharow, Jessipow, Koroljow (1973);
; Baumann (1973), (1974).

See also
Nolte (1975:149); Schmitt (1978:39); Moore-Rinvolucris (1973:39)

on the minimum to be achieved each year.

The purpose of a close reading of a text is in the case of an ML document

. . . um die Überzeugung von der Richtigkeit der Theorie des ML, von der Notwendigkeit der wissenschaftlichen Theorie für die Erfüllung der geschichtlichen Aufgabe der Arbeiterklasse unter Führung ihrer Partei im Kampf gegen den Kapitalismus und bei der Errichtung und Gestaltung des Sozialismus und Kommunismus herauszubilden. (Raetzer (1979:8); see also Feige et al (1975:242), where the same quotation is attributed to Bauer et al (1974:390))

- 66 Feige et al (1975:232) name the following:
Staatsbürgerkunde, Dokumente und Materialien, Berlin 1970;
Staatsbürgerkunde, Dokumente und Materialien, Berlin 1971.

We also found the following, less binding, aids:
Staatsbürgerkunde, 8. Klasse, Unterrichtshilfen, Berlin 1975
(similar volumes exist for other classes, but were unobtainable);
Feige (1979); Raetzer (1979).

- 67 See Feige et al (1975) passim on this; also Nestler (1975:91), where she states that books and worksheets are more effective in class than OHPs.

- 68 See Neuner et al (1976:429f) on Arbeitsgemeinschaften: membership of these is voluntary, but what is to be done in them is prescribed. This applies to classes 9 and 10.

- 69 See Christ et al (1974) for a discussion of the reception of new curricula for the teaching of German in Hesse, which elicited similar controversy.

- 70 See for example Klönne and Tschoepe (1964:347); Heuss (1966:330); Brandis (1974:530).

- 71 See also the following quotation:
Ein Ziel beider Fächer (Gesellschaftslehre und Geschichte) ist der Abbau eines naiven Verständnisses von Wahrheit und Realität und die Vermittlung und Erprobung von Kriterien und Methoden, mit deren Hilfe der Schüler zu begründeten Urteilen befähigt werden soll. (Hesse, Entwurf:23) See also Hartwich (1963:1)

- 72 In 1979 the KMK summarised the general aims of political education thus:

- 1 Fähigkeit und Bereitschaft, für die Sicherung und Weiterentwicklung der sozial- und rechtsstaatlichen Demokratie und für die Verwirklichung der Verfassungsprinzipien persönlich einzutreten . . .
- 2 Fähigkeit und Bereitschaft zur rationalen Orientierung und zur Selbst- und Mitbestimmung in der Gesellschaft . . .
- 3 Fähigkeit und Bereitschaft, in der Gesellschaft durch aktive Teilnahme, an der Gestaltung des öffentlichen Lebens mitzuwirken und Verantwortung

zu übernehmen. (KMK/FOS:3; see also *ibid*, p 1)

It is emphasised that these are only recommendations, since:
die Inhalte wie auch die Bezeichnungen dieses
Faches (sind) unterschiedlich. Für den Bereich der
Mittelstufe gibt es auch keine übergreifende Rahmen-
vereinbarung der Kultusministerkonferenz. (KMK, 1982,
personal communication)

See also Knoll (1964:312); Fischer (1975:70); Hilligen (1976:21,
31).

- 73 See for example KMK (1963:560); HRRG:8, 16; Aktionsfeld Politik:4; Mensch und Gesellschaft, Elternheft:6; see also the following quotation:

Politische Bildung ist durch ein noch so genaues
Wissen . . . nicht geleistet. Es geht ihr viel-
mehr darum, dem jungen Menschen den Blick zu öffnen
für soziale Tatbestände und Probleme, sein Urteil zu
üben und zu verselbständigen, ihn gegen Schlagworte
und Ideologien zu immunisieren. (Hilligen (1976:49)
quoting Hilligen (1957))

- 74 Pupils learn:

- a) . . . daß Interessenkonflikte existieren, die
offen ausgetragen werden müssen, und daß es
möglich und notwendig sei, Gegensätze/Kontroversen/
Konflikte in immer neu zu findenden Kompromissen
zu überbrücken. (Hesse, Entwurf:1)
- b) . . . Es gibt im politischen und sozialen Raum
keine vollkommenen Lösungen, die für alle Zeiten
gültig bleiben. (Hilligen (1976:48))

See also the following: B-W Gym:8-10; B-W Materialien:8;
B-WRe:2; Hesse, Entwurf:10, 17, 21; KMK/FOS:7; R-Pf:7;
Aktionsfeld Politik:4; G&P:11.

- 75 See for example AGHR 3; see also HHRe:12; Lernfeld Gesellschaft, Lehrerheft:3; Ulshöfer (1971:71f); Fischer, Heide, Zitzlaff (1976:11); Minogue (1979:28f) on the problematic issue of neutrality and what he terms a "mechanical seeing 'both sides of the question'".

- 76 But see also Barley (1973:23) in George (1975:85), who argues that the idea that freedom is good is an unproveable value-judgement.

- 77 See also Minssen (1963:73); Ohmann (1976) discusses "how to argue in liberal", and concludes (p 188f) that a typical western political text tends to depersonalise and oversimplify problems, and to give the illusion of critical discussion by dealing with peripheral issues whilst leaving the central issue untouched; this criticism could be applied to the FRG texts discussed in this thesis in that, for example, they deal with various aspects of Mitbestimmung, but do not come to grips fully with rival or critical views of the system of the social market economy as a whole.

- 78 See also Ortlieb (1963:45):
 . . . eine emotionale Askese, . . . Begeisterung
 . . . ohne Fanatismus, . . . vorurteilslose
 Bereitschaft für andere Standpunkte.
 See also AGHR:8, 10; Einführung in die Politik:10; Lucas
 (1966:221f); Ulshöfer (1971:110); Rumpf (1979) passim.
- 79 See also the following quotation:
 (Die Schüler) sollen Grundlagen und Elemente der
 repräsentativen Demokratie, der Gewaltenteilung und
 Gewaltenkontrolle und des Föderalismus unterscheiden
 lernen und im Zusammenwirken dieser Elemente den
 pluralistisch-demokratischen Staat erkennen und an-
 erkennen. (B-W Materialien:19); see also ibid, p 17;
HHPol II:9; KMK/FOS:2; Brandis (1974:540).
- 80 The mimeographed copy of B-W Materialien which we obtained
 devotes two sides to dealing with the mass media in general
 and political information in particular. See also Lernfeld
Gesellschaft:6-7; Ulshöfer (1971:67); Fischer (1973:76) on
 propaganda; and Schmitter (1971) passim, especially p 216-7
 where he discusses the following features of which children must
 be made aware:
 die Verfälschung und die Wertung gesellschaftlicher
 Wirklichkeit . . . den wertenden oder verfälschenden
 Allgemeinbegriff vom sachlich richtigen zu unter-
 scheiden . . .
 Einblick in die soziale Bedingtheit von Meinung und
 Wertung im sprachlichen Bereich . . .
 unmittelbare Erfahrung sprachlicher Steuerung . . .
 Befähigung zu differenziertem Sprachgebrauch . . .
 Techniken der Entlarvung sprachlicher Manipulation . . .
- 81 See for example: Becker et al (1963:10); Ortlieb (1963:42) on
 the danger of idealistische Blindheit in teachers; Uhlig
 (1972:55) quoting Lenk (1970:25); Fischer (1973:78f) on the
Methodenstreit as to the different bases on which political
 education can rest; Herkommer (1973:34) where he refers to
 pluralism as Schein.
- 82 Other examples include:
Aktionsfeld Politik:
 Politik und Geschichte; Aufgaben der Politik,
 demokratische Grundordnung und parlamentarische
 Demokratie; Politik und Recht; Sozialpolitik; Verbands-
 und Parteidemokratie; Politik und Wirtschaft;
Einführung in die Politik:
 die Staaten in der Weltpolitik; der Staat der Bundes-
 republik Deutschland; das Wirtschaftssystem;
 Produktion und Verteilung; Öffentliche Meinung und
 Öffentliche Information; vom Kind zum Erwachsenen;
 das System der Sozialisation und Erziehung;
Gesellschaft und Politik:
 von der Politik; vom politischen Denken und Handeln;
 in welcher Gesellschaft leben wir?; das politische
 System, in dem wir leben; Recht und Gerechtigkeit;
 im Mittelpunkt von allem steht die Wirtschaft;
 Familie - gestern, heute, morgen; Jung-sein in
 Deutschland; heißt unsere Zukunft Freizeit?; Minder-

heiten in der Bundesrepublik; die Gastarbeiter; von Gefahren, die unsere Welt bedrohen; auf dem Weg zu einer Weltgesellschaft;

Sozialkunde:

Zwischen Zwang und Freiheit - der Einzelne in der Gesellschaft; Grundfragen politischer Ordnung; Regierungssysteme; Recht und Gesetz ordnen unser Zusammenleben; Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft; Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland; der Kommunismus; China; die Deutsche Demokratische Republik; die Dritte Welt; den Frieden schaffen und sichern;

Thema Politik:

unsere Bedürfnisse; Leben in Gruppen; Lernen und Erziehung; Freizeit und Konsum; Arbeit und Produktion; Mitteilen und Verstehen; die Zukunft sichern.

- 83 See also HHRe:12; R-Pf:14; this is not to be the sole aim, however: see Brandis (1974:540) on the importance of case-studies in their own right.
- 84 See for example Ortlieb (1963:51) for a typical "learning methodology". See Steinbrecht (1983) passim for a negative view of this system; he writes that it should be abolished.
- 85 The introductions to many books emphasise:
- a) the fact that the authors are aiming not so much to teach the children a set of facts as to discuss the contemporary situation and the problems arising from various aspects of it:

"Der Arbeitsbuchcharakter wird dadurch verstärkt, daß auch die Text-Darstellungen regelmäßig die Schüler direkt ansprechen, indem Sachverhalte oft nur problematisierend angerissen, im weiteren aber die Schüler aufgefordert und angeleitet werden, selbst Problemlösungen oder begriffliche Systematisierungen zu erarbeiten". (TP, Lehrerheft:13; see also G&P:6,7).
 - b) the fact that there is not, in the authors' view, any definitive right and wrong, but that all issues must be looked at from as many points of view as possible:

"Unsere Absicht ist es zudem, jeweils ein Problem von verschiedenen Seiten zu beleuchten, unterschiedliche Meinungen, Stellungnahmen und Grundüberzeugungen vorzustellen, so daß entschieden werden muß: Wer hat recht? Was sagen wir dazu? Wo liegen die Denkfehler von diesem und jenem? Welche Interessen verfolgt der eine, welche der andere?" (G&P:6; see also ibid, p 4, and TP Lehrerheft:8)
 - c) the fact that the books are not prescriptive:

"Wir sind, wenn es um Streitfragen der Politik geht, keineswegs immer einer Meinung, und wir wollen Euch auch nicht zu dieser oder jener Meinung bringen oder gar zwingen". (G&P:4; see also TP:10, 11)
- 86 On the effectiveness of political education in general, see O'Dell (1978:81, 203, 217f); Brandis (1974:532f); W Schneider (1976:130) on the effectiveness of particular types of language in the Nazi period in influencing people's views: he believes

- that syntax as well as lexis plays a role in this.
- 87 See also Hughes (1978) quoting Oppenheim (1977), who writes that the FRG is "producing young people with an outstandingly democratic, tolerant and critical ideology".
 - 88 Although there is a considerable body of work dealing with the reception of texts (see for example Gülich and Raible (1972: 155f); Brinker (1972:58f)) we are unable to deal with this issue in the present thesis.
 - 89 Pateman (1975) also sees this possibility, and writes as follows:
 If they (teachers) attempt not to commit themselves to any values, leaving moral decisions to their pupils, their pupils, often having no explicit moral criteria or awareness or moral alternatives, will simply fall into the one-dimensionality of believing that what is defines what is right At least a teacher who comes out and says what he believes gives the pupil something to argue with. (Pateman (1975: 99) , quoted in Kochmann (1978:120)).
 See similarly Ellul (1973:181), who writes that inertia is a frequent reaction to exposure to too many opposing types of propaganda. On the effectiveness of the language used in political education in the GDR, see Schmidt and Harnisch (1972: 71f) who take for granted that it is possible to influence thought and belief through language; but see also Fleischer (1977:133f) for a discussion of the bad results achieved by schoolchildren in a test of their knowledge of political terms.
 - 90 See also Dieckmann (1973:117). Surveys have shown that GDR citizens usually respond to political terminology in an ideologically desirable way: see for example Bachem (1979:81f); however, one must bear in mind, as Bachem points out, the possibility that people deliberately give ideologically acceptable answers to interviewers whilst believing something different; see also Bartholmes (1973); W Schneider (1976:48) on the Schweigespirale of people who are frightened to say what they really think, and thus contribute to the general impression of universal agreement and acceptance.
 - 91 H Wagner (1981:22) accepts that changes have taken place, but sees this as an inevitable concomitant of social and political change, and not as something necessarily to be condemned.
 - 92 For a critical view of this approach see Dieckmann (1967:140), where he argues that no real analytical work had been undertaken by the writers who took this approach.
 - 93 See for example Werder (1957) passim; Bondzio (1963:228f); Kinne and Strube-Edelmann (1980:5). Dieckmann (1967:143) believes that change is to be found only in lexis.
 - 94 See for example Mackensen (1960) passim; Moser (1962:45); Scholz (1964:97); von Zahn (1964:139); Korlén (1967) passim; Hellmann (1973:15); Kinne and Strube-Edelmann (1980:6).

To illustrate this attitude in general it is possible to provide an amalgam of quotations from Moser (1962):

(Viel bedeutsamer ist), daß seit 1945 in beiden Teilen Deutschlands auf Grund der abweichenden politischen Gegebenheiten neue, verschiedene Wörter in großer Zahl entstanden sind und daß viele gemeinsame Wörter politisch-weltanschaulichen Inhalts, also Wörter wesentlicher Bereiche, im Osten Deutschlands zum Teil entscheidende inhaltliche Veränderungen erfahren haben und erfahren (p 8). Die Bedeutung von Wörtern wie Freiheit und Friede, Demokratie und Koexistenz bedürfen im Gespräch vielfach einer Bestimmung, sollen die Partner nicht aneinander vorbeireden oder - unter Umständen schwerwiegender - Mißverständnisse entstehen (p 45). (Die Spaltung) mußte mit Notwendigkeit eintreten, da ja die Sprache die Gesamtheit unseres Denkens und unserer Einrichtungen ausdrückt (p 49, quoting the GDR writer Klemperer (1955:124))

- 95 See for example Borée (1952); Koepp (1955); Werder (1957:77f, 80f); Moser (1962:11f, 16); Bartholmes (1964:44); Moser (1964:10); Schierbaum (1964:35); Sturms (1964:119f); von Zahn (1964:141f); Worthmann (1965); Dieckmann (1967:155); Kraft (1968); Wood (1974); Bergsdorf (1979:118). For a non-emotive summary of the influence of Russian on the language of the GDR, see H Wagner (1981:32f).
- 96 See for example Gaudig (1956); Haefs (1956); Ariel (1957); Werder (1957:75f); Therring (1960); Döllken (1961); Scholz (1964:94); von Zahn (1964:139f). For a more sober view of this issue, see Betz (1965:40), where he discusses Korlén's view of the term Mitteldeutschland, and condemns Korlén's ideas as unscientific and untested, and representing an attempt on the part of linguistic theory to demonstrate "die Macht der Sprache über den Gedanken", which Betz believes does not exist to this degree. Scholz (1964:94f) discusses the "narrowing" of the meaning of particular words in the GDR, die Partei referring now exclusively to the SED, die Republik to the GDR itself, der Plan only to the Five-Year Economic Plan etc. See also Moser (1962:32); Wood (1974:49); H Wagner (1981:23). Scholz is apparently unaware of traditional ML usage and the general tendency of language to abbreviate terms in this way wherever possible.
- 97 See for example Maeder (1964:14f, 20); Moser (1964:11f); Römer (1964a:175), where she refers to "totalitäre Ideologien" and "Diktator"; Römer (1964b:66); Schierbaum (1964:27); Sturms (1964:119f); Beutin (1976:97).
- 98 See also Moser (1962:12); on vagueness, see Römer (1964a:181); on superlatives, see Sturms (1964:123); Kraft (1968:67, 73); on military-style language, see Sturms (1964:123); H Wagner (1981:25); on emotive language, see Moser (1962:40, 47); Moser (1964:12); Kraft (1968:66); Marx-Nordin (1974:48); on evaluative language, see Maeder (1964:18f); Marx-Nordin (1974: 3, 53, 56).
- 99 Höppner was one of the first writers to deal with this issue in 1963; for a discussion of Höppner's work, see Ihlenburg (1964:

- 373); see also Kuklina (1951); Dieckmann (1973:95); Beutin (1976:98).
- 100 See also Kinne and Strube-Edelmann (1980:5f) on ML and the KPD in the Weimar Republic.
 - 101 See also Becker et al (1963:58), where they compare the use of the terms vertrieben and ausgesiedelt and the way they reflect the "false" and "true" versions of events. See also *ibid*, p 59, 61.
 - 102 On Fremdwörter in general, see for example the following from the FRG: von Zahn (1964:144); Hansen (1968:3f); and from the GDR: Thiemann (1970:28); Höpcke (1971:4). These articles are written from a variety of political standpoints ranging from extreme left to extreme right.
 - 103 See for example Werder (1957:77); Betz (1960); Moser (1962: 7, 18f, 23f); Ihlenburg (1964:373f); Hellmann (1965); Dieckmann (1967, esp p 145-6) takes issue with the FRG approach to the Dudens and the uncritical acceptance of their content as common and normal usage; see also Fleischer (1969:480); Mueller (1973:36); Bachem (1979:138f).
 - 104 See also Becker et al (1963:50) on the different meanings of Krieg in imperialist and socialist contexts; W Schmidt (1972b:31); Keßler (1973, esp p 203); I adopt the terms "vertical" and "horizontal" from Good (1971:11).
 - 105 See H Wagner (1981:34) on syntactic change, with particular reference to the use of genitives and attributive adjectives; his approach is much less emotive than the earlier works discussed above.
 - 106 For a summary of Dieckmann's article see Hellmann (1976:74); see also Mueller (1973:41), where he states that the language of the FRG and the GDR is becoming more similar under the influence of technology; see similarly von Zahn (1964) who writes that the Umgangssprache of the two states is becoming increasingly similar; see also Moser (1962:14f) on word-formation; Schierbaum (1964:26) on the influence of technology.
 - 107 See also Hellmann (1973:15f); also the following from Schumann (1966:648): he regards Dieckmann (1967) as "die erste Grundlegung einer neuen Methodologie mit exakten Kategorien für die deutsche Sprachwissenschaft auf dem Gebiet der politischen Sprachforschung".
 - 108 For a detailed list of work done on the East-West "rift" up to 1976 see Hellmann (1976).
 - 109 See for example Moser (1962:48), where he writes of a Sprachsonderung rather than a Sprachspaltung; see also Hartung (1974: 602); H Wagner (1981:31), where he writes that terms such as volkseigen and Jugendweihe are understood in the FRG even though their referents do not exist there; see also *ibid*, p 34f; but see Dieckmann (1973:118); this is part of a discussion of a paper delivered by Dieckmann, and Hellmann refers to a speech by Ulbricht, quoted in Neues Deutschland (16 6 1970:3-5) where

Ulbricht states that the German language is qualitatively different in GDR and FRG, the language of the GDR being echt, that of the FRG being "die Sprache der Hitlergenerale, der Neonazis und Revanchepolitiker": Hellmann believes, however, that most GDR linguists would disagree with this.

- 110 This term is here taken from Zabrocki (1970), quoted in Pelster (1981:124); Zabrocki is not alone in using this terminology.
- 111 See also Berg (1970:435) on Weinrich's view that people are "masters of the sentence"; Berg disagrees with this view. See also Schippan (1974:82). See also Hellmann (1976:321) for a summary of Schumann (1966), where Schumann discusses Weinrich's conclusion (1966) that changes in language follow, rather than cause, changes in society.
- 112 See also Schierbaum (1964:29), where he "translates" GDR language into the "correct" FRG version; also *ibid*, p 30, where he compares meanings of words in the FRG and the GDR and invariably finds the FRG meaning to be "correct"; p 33, where he writes of the Zuchthausgeruch of GDR language; p 39, where he differentiates between the "free" FRG and the "totalitarian" GDR. Dieckmann (1973:93f) discusses this issue further. See also Dieckmann (1967:136); Good (1971:1-2); Beutin (1976:98).
- 113 See Good (1975:10) where he defines what is "East" and "West" German on the basis of which state the texts under investigation were written in.
- 114 See also Albrecht (1971) for a discussion of Engels' views on language. For an example of a linguistic analysis of this type see Scholwin (1971). Dieckmann (1973:99f) writes that more recently GDR linguists have moved away from their slavish adherence to ML philosophy to a position closer to that of western linguists, in that language and ideology are judged in terms of their usefulness rather than their ultimate correctness.
- 115 On the question of developing a suitable metalanguage for this type of investigation, see Dieckmann (1973:102, 108); Beutin (1976:67).
- 116 See for example Fowler et al (1979) *passim*; Kress and Hodge (1979) *passim*; also Dieckmann (1973:97); Ammon (1973:7). We employ the term "UEA linguists" to refer to those writers who work or have worked at the University of East Anglia, and/or who have had work published in the periodical UEA Papers in Linguistics. We discuss their work in more detail in Part II.
- 117 See also the following quotation from Ulshöfer (1971:100):
Die schwierigste Form der Kritik ist die Ideologiekritik . . . und ehe man in einem beliebigen Lese-
stück oder einer wissenschaftlichen Abhandlung die
dahinterstehende Anthropologie, Kultur- und Wissen-
schaftstheorie erkennt, muß man nicht nur Fachmann,
sondern auch Gesellschaftskritiker sein.
- 118 This term is used in the sense of a discussion of language and its relationship to ideology, and not in the normative sense

of Stilkunde in which it is used by Korn (1958), Beutin (1976:38, 73f). The sense in which Weinrich uses the term is summarised by Schumann thus:

Sprachkritik ist somit nicht durch die bloße Aufstellung eines Kodex von Wörtern oder Begriffen, sondern nur durch die exakte Analyse der ideologischen Komponenten eines jeweiligen Stils zu leisten. (Schumann (1966:649), referring to Weinrich (1966)).

- 119 See also Kolb (1970:179), where he writes that the meaning of a particular term varies with the intentions of the user; Zimmermann (1972:117). Good (1975:29) gives the following quotation from Ullmann (1964:24) on this issue:

The full significance of a word can be grasped only in the light of the context in which it occurs, with reference to the situation in which it is used, and ultimately within the framework of the whole culture of which it forms a part.

See similarly Hartung (1969:489); Michel (1969:503f); Edelman (1977:15); Dieckmann (1973:105f).

- 120 For a discussion of this approach, see Pateman (1981). See also Dieckmann (1973:137) on the dangers of uncritical neutrality. The approach taken by the UEA linguists has its roots in the movements beginning in the late 1960s where all aspects of politics, society and life in general were questioned and criticised. In German philosophy this led to the work of Habermas, Adorno et al of the Frankfurt School. Fischer (1973:82f) discusses his personal view of the effects of this movement on the FRG education system.

- 121 See Dieckmann (1973:121f); see also Crystal (1977:205), where he writes as follows:

By all means then let us allow a place for linguistics and sociolinguistics in helping to sort out the technical consequences of operating with the notion of language games (Note: here Crystal is referring to the use of language for religious purposes), but this specialised and restricted rôle ought not to distract from the more fundamental questions . . . of who makes the rules, who is allowed to play, and who is qualified to act as referee. It is not possible to reduce these questions to linguistic terms.

- 122 See also the following quotation from Good (1975:156):

. . . Wenn also durchaus zugegeben werden kann, daß Wörter ideologisiert werden können durch den außersprachlichen Kontext, so ist es dennoch möglich, durch eine Betrachtung der Sprache interessante Aufschlüsse über diese Ideologisierung zu gewinnen.

PART II: THE LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK OF THE THESIS

Part II lays out the linguistic framework of the thesis and provides a general introduction to the main analyses of the school textbooks in Part III. In Part II we discuss firstly work carried out in fields related to our own, and illustrate some aspects of that work which can be applied in our own analyses. We demonstrate that an investigation of the present kind cannot be carried out exclusively by means of a linguistic analysis in the structuralist sense, but that, as Halliday writes, the context of situation of the texts must be taken into account. The context of situation of the texts dealt with in the present thesis is complex, and a description of it draws on non-linguistic disciplines including psychology and pedagogics, as well as work done in areas of "applied" linguistics such as the language of politics.

We show that there is a great deal of material available in several fields which is relevant to the present investigation, but that, for a variety of reasons, little of this material can be applied directly to our analyses. Firstly, the work on political language and propaganda has been carried out with reference to adult receivers, as has much of the research in the psychology of reading. Secondly, although much research has been carried out with non-adult subjects with regard to the role of language in psychology and pedagogics, it has dealt with other aspects of language from the ones with which we are concerned in the present thesis. We found little material that was immediately applicable to our own analyses, the main exception being some work carried out in the GDR on the language of school textbooks; this, however, is concerned more with ease of comprehension than with ideological aspects of the language. The fact that there is so little material that is immediately applicable to our thesis underlines its innovatory nature.

In the second section of Part II we present a discussion of the work of M A K Halliday and demonstrate why Halliday's work represents a suitable basis for our analyses. We then discuss some applications that have been made of Halliday's work in investigations similar to our own that have been undertaken on texts in English. Our application of the methodology developed by Halliday and the UEA linguists to texts in German, and the new insights thereby gained, represents the main innovative feature of this thesis.

1 A brief survey of work done in some related disciplines

In this section we present a short discussion of some of the work done to date in the fields of political language and propaganda, psychology and pedagogics which is relevant to our own investigation. A great deal of research has been undertaken in all these areas, the majority of which is of only indirect relevance to this thesis, for the reasons that either a) the work has been carried out with reference to adult subjects, and thus cannot automatically be assumed to apply also to young people, the age group with which the present thesis is concerned, or b) even when the research is concerned with immature subjects, as in the case of educational psychology and pedagogics, it has often been carried out from a different standpoint from our own and with different aims in view. Whilst the nature of our investigation makes it necessary for us to refer to work done in many disciplines apart from linguistics, there is only a limited body of work that has been done in the immediate field of the present thesis on which we can draw directly.

1.1 Language, politics and propaganda

Studies in the language of politics are legion, and there is a wealth of valuable material on which we draw in our analysis below. However, it must be borne in mind that the political language normally discussed is that used among adults who are already politically socialised and hold political views; it is normally not directed at young people with as yet incompletely formed or consolidated political views. Whilst much work has been done on the use of propaganda in creating and consolidating political opinions in adults, very little has been done on the relevance or otherwise of these techniques to the education and political socialisation of juveniles. So whilst we may draw on work done on propaganda and political language in general for our own purposes, this must be done with the caveat that the effects of this type of linguistic usage on immature receivers have not yet been fully researched.

As we have discussed in an earlier section, the potential power of language on a receiver is recognised in both German states, and both state their wish that young people be made aware of this and taught to

scrutinise language and the interests behind it carefully before forming opinions or adopting modes of behaviour. In discussions of the writing of school books themselves and the language which they ought to contain, much more attention is paid by GDR writers to insights gained in this field by linguistic research than is the case with FRG writers; as will be seen below, FRG writers on school textbooks concentrate almost exclusively on the factual content of the books and the ideas which are being presented to the reader, with virtually no attention being paid to the language in which this material is presented. Thus, as will be seen in this section, whilst linguists from both German states have gained important insights into the nature of political language and propaganda, many of which we make use of in this thesis, these are largely, and somewhat surprisingly, disregarded by the writers of school books in the FRG.

1.1.1 Political language

Many writers, particularly non-linguists, regard the role of language in political life as being to help form and maintain political attitudes, or a "cultural and political guidance system" (Mueller (1973:18) (1). In non-socialist states politics in general and political language in particular are regarded with a degree of suspicion, as something essentially separate from everyday life and representing a potential threat to the independence of the citizen. A few writers believe in the essentially "benign" nature of political language (Mackensen (1973:200); Mann (1973:159)), praising the varieties of political language found in the West (Bachem (1979:162f)) and deploring the linguistic and political homogeneity they believe exists in socialist states, including the GDR (Good (1975:10); Bachem (1979:65)). However, the majority of writers have a much less charitable view of political language, believing that it is not innocent or neutral (Sternberger et al (1968:10); Scholwin (1972:59); Dieckmann (1973:101)) (2), that it depersonalises the individual (Dieckmann (1969:82f)), and serves only party-political interests at the expense of the good of society as a whole (Lübbe (1967:357f)) (3). Politicians and political speakers in general are regarded with some suspicion, and political language is frequently associated with the language of advertising, which is regarded in a similarly bad light (K-H Wagner (1968) passim; Dieckmann (1969:108); Haseloff (1969b) passim; Hopster (1970); Mann

(1973:153); Bachem (1979:39); from the GDR see Scholwin (1971:320)). Whilst Pelster regards the use of language in politics in the two German states as proceeding along broadly similar lines towards broadly similar goals (Pelster (1966); see also discussion in Dieckmann (1969:109)), GDR writers take the view discussed in an earlier section that all language use, including political language, in the two German states differs along class lines (W Schmidt (1971:313f)), and that political language in the West is essentially distorted and manipulative in the interests of the ruling class (Bochmann (1971); Scholwin (1971:318f); Scholwin (1972; esp p 62)). This view is also subscribed to by some FRG writers (Dieckmann (1969:44f); Marx-Nordin (1974:12); Heidger and Wiechens (1976:7); Edelman (1977) *passim*), and it is generally accepted that the language of politics, at least potentially, can influence the receiver in such a way as to cause his actions and beliefs to be modified in accordance with the wishes of the sender (Dieckmann (1969:19f); Leinfellner (1971:70); Nimmo (1974:35)) (4).

The features, particularly of spoken language, which are frequently discussed, include the following: catchwords, slogans, emotive language, evaluative language, repetition, euphemisms, depersonalisation, tautology, vagueness, the use of technical terms, the use of proper names and titles, clichés and stereotypes, Ideologieggebundenheit in general, and loan-words (5).

A specific aspect of political language discussed and condemned by some writers is the increasing "bureaucratisation" of language, which they see as resulting from an increase in the number and influence of political institutions. They fear a depersonalisation of public life and the reduction of individuals to the status of objects, and often quote features such as increasing nominalisation and use of the accusative to refer to persons at the "expense" of the dative as symptomatic of this development (see for example Korn (1958:42); Moser (1962:40f) on GDR Kollektivstil; Sternberger et al (1968:168f, 180f, 198); Uhlig (1972:180f); Fleischer (1977:17); H Wagner (1981:26)) (6). Whilst many of these writers regard these linguistic features as exclusive to the post World War Two period, it has been pointed out that the German language has been developing in this direction for more than a century (Moser (1962:35, 41)), and that whilst the language of politics may exhibit these features, it is by no means unique in this (7). In our analysis below we discuss the use of nominalisations and the accusa-

tive, not as defining features of political language or of operative texts per se (see the section on text-typology), but as two features among others which, when viewed in a particular context, may be seen to contribute to the presentation of material in an ideologically coloured way.

1.1.2 Propaganda

Propaganda is a sub-type of political language which aims specifically at influencing the beliefs and behaviour of the receiver, and in this respect can be broadly compared to the use of language in political socialisation in general, as discussed in an earlier section. In discussing work done hitherto on propaganda we must however again bear in mind the fact that the bulk of this work concerns adult subjects whose reactions are likely to be different to those of children and juveniles (see Dieckmann (1969:34, 37); Bochmann (1971:213); however, Fleischer (1969:482) would not necessarily take this view).

The term "propaganda" is usually used negatively (see for example Scholwin (1971:321)) and attributed to one's political opponents, whilst one's own side is normally said to disseminate "information". A relatively non-judgemental definition of propaganda is provided by Lasswell et al as follows:

the manipulation of symbols as a means of influencing attitudes on controversial matters. (Lasswell et al (1968:177))

Much work has been carried out on the ways in which propaganda functions and the situations in which it is most effective; it is generally accepted that the use of particular forms of language can have a strongly persuasive effect on the receiver, and that this effect is heightened if certain other features of the extralinguistic context are felicitous.

Ellul defines propaganda as the attempt to introduce new information and attitudes, as opposed to agitation, which is simply aimed at the maintaining of existing views (Ellul (1973:61f); see also Maeder (1964:15); Bartholmes (1973:208); H Wagner (1981:27)); similarly, Bochmann differentiates between Überzeugung and Überredung (Bochmann (1971:214)). According to Ellul's definition the material with which we are dealing in this thesis falls under the heading of propaganda.

Ellul emphasises that, in order for propaganda in any context to be effective, it must rest on certain pre-formed views which predispose the receiver to accept the propaganda message; he calls this pre-propaganda:

No direct propaganda can be effective without pre-propaganda, which, without direct or noticeable aggression, is limited to creating ambiguities, reducing prejudices and spreading images, apparently without purpose. The spectator will be much more disposed to believe in the grandeur of France when he has seen a dozen films on French petroleum, railroads or jetliners. (Ellul (1973:15); see also p 61)

This is reinforced by "sociological propaganda", which is also indirect and implicit:

It is rarely conveyed by catchwords or expressed intentions. Instead it is based on a general climate, an atmosphere that influences people imperceptibly without having the appearance of propaganda; it gets to a man through his customs, through his most unconscious habits. It creates new habits in him. As a result, man adopts new criteria of judgement and choice, adopts them spontaneously, as if he had chosen them himself. But all these criteria are in conformity with the environment and are essentially of a collective nature. Sociological propaganda produces a gradual adaptation to a certain order of things, a certain concept of human relations, which unconsciously moulds individuals and makes them conform to society. (Ellul (1973:64); see also p 75 on the "propaganda of integration", which functions in developed nations to make individuals participate in the life of the state).

Ellul believes that the above two types of propaganda form part of the process of ensuring the continuing conformity of adults to the prevailing social and political system; they are also strongly reminiscent of the primary socialisation we discussed above, in the sense that a basic code of behaviour and set of norms are established, which are then constantly reinforced. If adults are susceptible to influences of this kind, and form their views and opinions not in a totally free way but in accordance with some predetermined norm that is (implicitly or explicitly) prescribed by society at large and specifically by the ruling elite, then it is highly likely that schoolchildren, with their limited experience of the world and incompletely formed views, will be all the more strongly influenced by propaganda when they encounter it. This likelihood is enhanced if a fundamental belief of those behind the propaganda is that only a certain type of information should be made available, since children have usually had no opportunity to gather information of their own, but are dependent on what is provided and are in any case predisposed on account of their youth to accept what they are

told by the authorities, be these teachers or textbooks.

As we demonstrate here and in the section on text-typology below, the types of language used for propaganda purposes and in some texts used for political education in schools in the two German states are broadly similar; thus statements that can be made about propaganda can also, to an extent, be made about political education.

FRG writers, and western writers in general, broadly condemn the use of language for manipulative purposes, and emphasise the importance of making people aware of the techniques used in propaganda: eg Wagner asks

Was hätten wir erreicht, wenn unsere Schülerinnen und Schüler . . . vor der Demagogie mancher politischer Verlautbarungen oder vor der Meinungsmanipulation gewisser Presseorgane kapitulierten? (K-H Wagner (1968:63)) (8)

Such writers believe that, whilst political language almost inevitably contains some distortions or appeals to the emotions rather than the intellect of the receiver, these should be kept to a minimum, and the receiver left as far as possible to form independent views on the basis of information received. Reference is frequently made to the Nazi period in Germany and the tragic results of its extremely effective propaganda (see for example Mann (1973) *passim*); this is intended as a warning against a repetition of that situation, and as an exhortation for people to be educated as to the dangers of propaganda.

GDR writers, in contrast, have a less uniform view of propaganda; it is regarded as manipulative and evil when used in the service of capitalism and imperialism, and great efforts are made to reveal and discredit monopolistic propaganda of this type (see for example Bochmann (1971); Scholwin (1971); Scholwin (1972); Hartung (1974:482f, esp p 511f)). On the other hand, propaganda in the service of socialism and communism is regarded in a positive light, being seen not as a manipulation of defenceless individuals but rather as educational and a raising of their consciousness (see Fleischer (1969) *passim*); Scholwin (1972) *passim*; Hartung (1974:457, 512)).

Writers from both states agree broadly on the typical linguistic features of propaganda which obtain irrespective of the ends it is intended to serve. Scholwin lists the following as typical of anti-communist propaganda in the USA:

Störung der Informationsfunktion der Sprache: Diffamierung der Gegner; ständige Wiederholung; raffinierte Ausnutzung der Polysemie vieler Wörter und Streckungen der Wortbedeutungen; . . . Sprachregelung; Sprachverhüllung; Sprachabwertung durch negative Attributierung; Sprachabwertung durch negative Synonymbildung; Sprachabwertung durch negative verbale Umschreibung; Sprachabwertung durch Abstempelung; assoziative Verbindung von Wörtern; Wiederholungen und Klischees. (Scholwin (1972:62-3); see also W Schmidt (1972b:33-4))

This is very similar to the following list which is given by Mackensen in his analysis of political language in general, and also to the features of Reiß' operativer Text which we discuss in more detail in Part III:

Aussageschwund durch Gewöhnung . . . "Stereotypen" . . . "Modewörter" . . . Lenkung und Normung, Schlagwörter, Metaphern . . . Tautologien, Abstrakte, Euphemismen, Schelten; Beeinflussung der Aussagen durch die Behörden, durch die Massenmedien, durch die Werbung, durch die Politik, durch die Struktur der Sprache, Unbestimmtheit der Wörter, Unsicherheit und Übersteigerung, Steigerung durch Vor- und Nachsilben, Verlust der temporalen Eindeutigkeit . . . (Mackensen (1973) contents page; see also Moser (1964:12); Bachem (1979:86) on rhetoric)

We may summarise the features given above as follows: propaganda texts praise the sender's own political system and denigrate that of the opponent through the use of a variety of linguistic features, the combined effect of which is to present an emotive, evaluative and biased view of the actual state of affairs, and where the informative/ideational function of language is subordinated to the persuasive/interpersonal (see Dieckmann (1969:64f, 84f, 108); Scholwin (1972:63); Mueller (1973:28f, 98); Hartung (1974:509f); Fleischer (1977:84f); Bachem (1979:14, 72f)).

Many studies have been undertaken on ways of ensuring the effectiveness of propaganda, on discovering which people are most easily influenced and the situations in which it is easiest to influence them. It has been found that some people are more prone to influence by propaganda than others, and that the effectiveness of the propaganda depends not only on its content and linguistic form, but also on a certain predisposition on the part of the receiver to accept and absorb the message given:

Die politische Rede steht also immer in einem besonderen ideologischen Kontext, der vorhanden ist, bevor sie beginnt, den sie verändern kann, wenn sie akzeptiert wird und Wirkung erzielt. (Heußen (1976:48); see also Dieckmann (1969:38))

The effectiveness of propaganda is heightened if it is the only source of information available (Bergsdorf (1979:123)). If, however, a variety of senders provides a multiplicity of varying or contradictory messages, the impact of each individual message is diminished as people evaluate the information received and form their opinions on the basis of a possible synthesis of several different messages, or simply choose to accept wholesale one of the messages available.

The contrast in the spread of information generally available through the media in the two German states is reflected in the textbooks used in their schools (9). As has been demonstrated above, the GDR books are constructed in a parteilich way and contain only positive information on socialism and only negative information on capitalism; conflicting views to this are allowed only to the extent that they are discussed with the express purpose of discrediting and discarding them. This is what we term a closed universe of discourse. The universe of discourse of the FRG books is more open, as these contain a variety of views, and no one view is prescribed for adoption by the pupils.

In the light of our above discussion it would be expected that there would be less dissent in the GDR and a greater conviction of the correctness of the government's views than in the FRG. Whilst it is impossible for us to quantify this, the fact that there are dissidents at all in the GDR alerts us to the fact that propaganda does not always have the effect its senders desire (see Bergsdorf (1979:123)).

1.1.3 Pragmatics

In the GDR relatively little detailed work was done on the language of politics as such until the late 1960s, when Fleischer called for the development of a sound marxist foundation for a linguistisch-germanistische analysis of this type of language (Fleischer (1969:475)). Since that time work done by both marxist and non-marxist scholars has been based on the view of politics as a form of social activity, regarded positively rather than negatively, and of language as an integral part of this (see Lübke (1967:355); Fleischer (1969:482); Leinfellner (1971:22); Frese (1972:102); S J Schmidt (1972a:92,96f)) (10). This view of language necessitates a consideration of the context, in the widest sense, of utterances, and a recognition of the "relativity"

of meaning which can vary with the situation (see for example Klaus (1965:45); Sternberger et al (1968:10); Dieckmann (1969:71f) on "ideological polysemy"; Michel (1969:504) discussing this; W Schmidt (1971:301) on Ideologiegebundenheit; S J Schmidt (1972a:85); Scholwin (1972:64f) on Konsituation; Waller (1972:18f); Zimmermann (1972:119) on context; Bartholmes (1973:206)). W Schmidt lists the sociological, psychological, biological and situative factors as needing consideration (W Schmidt (1971:315-6)); similarly Michel quotes the sociological, historical, aesthetic, ethical and pedagogic (Michel (1969:503); see also Albrecht (1971:181) on Saussure; Schmidt and Harnisch (1972:78)). The view on which our own analysis is based is very similar to these, namely that of Halliday, who states that

The relation of talk to environment lies in the total semiotic structure of the interaction: the significant ongoing activity . . . and the social matrix within which meanings are being exchanged. (Halliday (1975a:141))

We return in more detail in the next section to Halliday's work.

Representing a step beyond the simple insistence on the consideration of the socio-historical context of utterances is the demand, voiced in both FRG and GDR, for an investigation of the pragmatic aspect of language use. This is based on the view of language in society as communication between people who are concerned not only with disseminating information, but also in provoking reactions in their hearers, be these realised as emotions, beliefs or actions. The pragmatic aspect of language is broadly comparable to Halliday's interpersonal function, which we discuss in more detail later in the thesis.

Bachem, with reference to Searle's Speech Acts, claims that

erst eine pragmatische (sprachhandlungstheoretische) Analyse gibt Aufschlüsse darüber, was die Äußerung tatsächlich meint. Sie berücksichtigt, welcher gesellschaftlichen oder zeitgeschichtlichen Situation und Rolle sie zugehört . . . und in welchem Zeichenkontext sie erscheint . . . Die pragmatische Analyse beschäftigt sich mit den Absichten des Senders . . . und den (möglichen) Wirkungen auf den Empfänger. (Bachem (1979:19), emphasis in original; see also Klaus (1965:18); Dieckmann (1969:17, 49); Fleischer (1969:479); W Schmidt (1971:308); Oller (1972) passim; Scholwin (1972:59f))

In this sense our own analysis could be said to contribute towards an understanding of the pragmatic function of language.

A detailed attempt to illustrate the pragmatic aspect of language use in the GDR is Klaus' Die Macht des Wortes (Klaus (1968)), in which he

bases his ideas on Morris' work in semiotics. Whilst Klaus is concerned to distinguish between his own work, which he sees as an "erkenntnistheoretische Teildisziplin" (Klaus (1968:10)), and the work in the USA of Morris and others on the basis of Peirce's semiotics, which he regards as "wichtige ideologische Hilfsmittel zur Durchsetzung der Interessen der amerikanischen Kapitalistenklasse" (Klaus (1968:21)), he nonetheless regards the American work as a useful starting point for the development of more effective agitation and propaganda in the GDR:

Eine systematische Untersuchung der Wirkung bestimmter Worte auf die Menschen ist für die Propaganda und Agitation von großer Bedeutung . . . Eine marxistische Pragmatik . . . könnte die Einsicht in die tatsächlichen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse fördern und die Erkenntnis der objektiven gesellschaftlichen Faktoren beschleunigen helfen. (Klaus (1968:28); see similarly Hartung (1974:452))

Whilst no other writers in the GDR go as far as Klaus in developing a framework for a pragmatic analysis of language, and whilst some criticise him for an overenthusiastic acceptance of an imperialist theory (11), they nonetheless believe an analysis of language from the standpoint of pragmatics to be important:

. . . der Wirkungsaspekt der sprachlichen Zeichen (erweist sich) als der umfassendste, dem die anderen Aspekte untergeordnet werden können, der aber seinerseits nicht beschrieben werden kann, ohne daß die anderen Aspekte berücksichtigt werden. (W Schmidt (1971:307); see also W Schmidt (1969a: 465f); Schmidt and Harnisch (1972:69f, 78f)) (12)

It is thus clear that beliefs in the FRG and the GDR as to the direction in which linguistic analysis ought to proceed have to a certain extent converged in recent years; scholars now see their work as descended from a common source, and refer openly and seriously to each other's work (13). We make use of many of their insights in our analyses below.

In conclusion, we can state that, broadly speaking, non-marxist writers see a primary function of political language as being to integrate individuals into the prevailing social order by providing them with a linguistically-mediated version of reality and acting as a means of social control which is in the long run more effective than the use of force (Dieckmann (1969:28f, 34); S J Schmidt (1972a:92)). Marxists similarly see a close link between language and consciousness, but perceive a fundamental difference in the ways consciousness-formation occurs in socialist and non-socialist societies (14). Both marxist and non-marxist writers recognise that it is possible for language, at

least temporarily, to distort reality and for the receivers of linguistic messages to be misled and deceived. Edelmann sees this process as originating with elites and being generally accepted by the rest of the population (Edelman (1977:xxi)); it is for him not a sinister or manipulative process, but a concomitant of social "success", in which those who achieve dominance are regarded by themselves and others as deserving of that dominance (Edelman (1977:39)), and those whom the elite term "undeserving" are likewise perceived as such by the mass of the population, who simultaneously perceive themselves as integrated and deserving members of society whilst condemning others as deviant (Edelman (1977:54); see also Dieckmann (1969:30) on the unifying effect of symbols). Edelmann writes that populations accept the version of at least non-immediate reality presented to them via language, since they have no way of testing this against their own experiences (Edelman (1977:142); see also Heidger and Wiechens (1976:8)). We deal in some detail with this issue of testability in our analyses below.

Mueller takes a similar view on the willing conformity of non-elites, in particular the working class, to the norms of society as prescribed by elites; he quotes Hess as follows:

Lower class children more frequently accept authority figures as correct and rely on their trustworthiness and benign intent. There is more acquiescence to the formal structure and less tendency to question the motivations behind the behaviour of the government and government officials. (Mueller (1973:69) quoting Hess and Torney (1967); see also Heidger and Wiechens (1976:8))

Marxist writers do not accept that this situation can continue indefinitely, since, they believe, ultimately reality and truth will become clear to all:

Im Gegensatz zu den Vertretern des semantischen Positivismus in den USA, die teilweise soweit gehen, der Sprache nicht nur eine bewußtseinsverändernde, sondern sogar eine realitätsverändernde magische Kraft zuzuschreiben, gehen wir von der durch Marx und Engels getroffenen Feststellung aus, daß "weder die Gedanken noch die Sprache für sich ein eignes Reich bilden; daß sie nur Äußerungen des wirklichen Lebens sind". (Scholwin (1971:318))

In view of the fact that, as demonstrated above, the potential power of language is recognised in both German states, the FRG appears to pay surprisingly little close attention to the language of its school-books. The attitude of the GDR is more consistent with a strong belief

in the power of language to affect the beliefs of individuals, and a coherent attempt to influence them in a particular way. However, if Ellul is right and the ground for propaganda is prepared in the way described, then it is extremely unlikely that propaganda/political education in either state will fail, since the schoolchildren will have been predisposed to accept it in the period before they begin explicitly political studies.

Whether one imputes essentially manipulative or fundamentally benign motives - or, indeed, any conscious motives at all - to those who disseminate propaganda in either its "hard" political/demagogic form or in its "soft" socialising form, there emerges clearly from the above discussion the view that both behaviour and beliefs can be crucially affected by the forms of language to which the individual is exposed. This thesis is concerned with illustrating some of the linguistic devices that can contribute to this process. As we demonstrate, there is relatively little material available on which we can draw directly for our discussion of the influence of language on the formation of attitudes in children and teenagers, but it is possible to extrapolate from work carried out with adult subjects and to postulate the mechanisms whereby this process operates.

We are unable in the present thesis to test the extent to which particular texts or types of language are effective in influencing the views of their receivers; we have however demonstrated that

- a) language plays an important role in primary and secondary socialisation, and that this is recognised by both German states;
- b) language reflects the ideology of its users.

In our analyses below we deal with language in the light of the latter statement, and consider various ideologically interesting features of language. These analyses are made doubly interesting by the fact that much of the language analysed was generated with the express intention not simply of giving information or an opinion, but also of influencing and indeed forming the opinions of others.

1.2 Language, education and psychology

Much of the work done in the field of psychology with reference to the significance of language in learning deals with the primary acquisition

of language by very young children, such as the work of Piaget, Skinner or Vygotsky or with the conceptual development of young children (see Hartung (1974:230, 267); Taylor (1976:275f)), and is of little immediate relevance to the present thesis. Other psycholinguistic work, such as on word association, inference, the storing of linguistic and cognitive information, is normally carried out with adult subjects, and whilst some experiments are carried out with explicit reference to written language (see for example Aborn et al (1959); McNeill (1966); Gumenik and Dolinsky (1969); Danks and Glucksberg (1970); Griggs (1974)), in many cases the medium is not regarded as a significant variable. It is, however, possible to extrapolate from this work the probable effects on young readers of exposure to particular linguistic constructions.

Within the specific area of the psychology of reading work done on the effects on comprehensibility and learning of features such as voice, negativity and modality are relevant to the present thesis; whilst much of the work has been done with adult readers (see for example Danks and Glucksberg (1970); Gibson and Levin (1975:481f); Taylor (1976:110f)), it can be assumed that the results of these experiments are also broadly applicable to juvenile readers. Whilst Gibson and Levin discuss the issue of reading for learning purposes (Gibson and Levin (1975:436f)) (15), they do not however deal with the effects on the reader of texts especially designed to influence their learning in a particular way. This issue falls somewhere between the competencies of the psychology of reading and the study of propaganda, and is an as yet little explored area.

In the area of collocation it has been established by experiments with nonsense words that the subject's evaluation of novel/unknown words is affected by the evaluative nature of other elements in the sentence (see Gumenik and Dolinsky (1969:656); see similarly Ammer (1961:44); Hartung (1969:491); Hoffmann (1976) *passim* on the many different facets of word-meaning). A reader of a text on a novel topic is thus likely to evaluate a new term in the way the writer intended, without necessarily knowing all, or indeed any, aspects of its meaning; in fact, as Michel points out, the emotive impact of a new term can be more important in the first instance than its denotative meaning (Michel (1967:269); see also Hartung (1969:496); Hartung (1974:501)). This point is of relevance in our discussion below of the role of emotive

and evaluative language in the texts analysed.

Another way in which the attitude of the receiver to the message can be influenced without making the intention of the sender explicit is via Prestige-Suggestion (see H D Schmidt and Schmerl (1968)); this again is a form of "evaluation by association", in that the attitude of a reader to a text is influenced by the already existing evaluation of the (putative) sender:

By labelling political statements in different ways judgements could be altered. 85 social workers were asked to give their opinion to different Nazi texts labelled under the name of well-known and liked German statesmen. By this most of the judgements could be changed from the rejection area to at least indifference, particularly judgements about "strong" Nazi texts. (H D Schmidt and Schmerl (1968:174); see also Hovland and Weiss (1951); Hartung (1969:490); Jervis (1970:5f) on the "halo effect", and passim on the effect of preconceptions in general on perception and interpretation; Mueller (1973:33) discussing Williams (1970))

If this is generally the case, then a GDR child reading an extract from Lenin, or an FRG child one from a "father-figure" such as Adenauer at the peak of his public esteem, is likely to be positively disposed towards the text from the outset because of the positive associations of these two political figures in their respective states. Similarly, Ammer discusses the use of scientific jargon to increase the prestige of a text (Ammer (1961:49)), and Taylor discusses a broader spectrum of work done on the influence of presupposition on the perception of a text (Taylor (1976:130f)). We take account of such work, and make certain assumptions on the basis of insights gained in the field of psychology. We return to the issue of presupposition in the section on Testability in Part III.

Other experiments have shown that the frequent collocation of the same terms leads to faster recognition of the truth or falsity of a statement, and more frequent collocations of words are given more rapidly in word association tests than infrequent collocations (Conrad (1972); Taylor (1976:62)); words and their associations are learned together (Seelig (1969:73)) (16). It is clear that, the more frequently particular words are collocated in material presented to learners, the more likely they are to be associated together and the more likely it is that a language learner will habitually employ them in the same relation in his own utterances. (We use the term "language learners" to mean

the pupils using school textbooks; for the purposes of our present discussion they can be regarded as language learners in the sense that, whilst they are familiar with the syntax and much of the lexis of their mother tongue, they are engaged in the acquisition of new terms and new concepts through the medium of language). It is generally accepted that very common or everyday expressions are produced very rapidly and with very little latency in tests, as if they were "ready-made" (Taylor (1976:124, 128)); it is likely that collocations of this type also exist in the context of political language, or that they can be created for the reader by means of frequent repetitions.

Whilst pupils may find that the content of what they are learning takes some time to absorb, the linguistic structures employed in its presentation are likely to be adopted relatively quickly. This adoption of pre-formed linguistic constructions is reminiscent of the largely uncritical, because emotively charged, adoption and use of symbols relating to the political life of the state. These are

symbols of the system to which the citizen can attach his loyalty and through which he can feel at one with all others who recognise and respond to the same symbol. (O'Dell (1978:111f); see also Ammer (1961:36f))

The adoption of frequently used and officially sanctioned phraseology by the individual can likewise evoke a feeling of belonging, without his necessarily understanding fully the implications of the language being used. We have noted in Part I that emotive attachment precedes and can colour cognitive learning both in the political and other fields, and that these emotive attachments are very difficult to modify; if political education during adolescence builds on early emotive attachments to the state, then the conformity and loyalty of the individual is more likely to be ensured (17). Bartholmes writes that connotations in language can only be effective if the receiver is predisposed to accept them and if they are in accord with already-held views (Bartholmes (1973:213f)). Since school-children are normally predisposed to accept information received from respected senders such as teachers or textbooks, and since they have few explicit political opinions against which to measure new information which they receive, it is likely that they will be particularly receptive to any connotations contained in the language to which they are exposed.

Whilst it emerges from the above that constant repetition of particular constructions and collocations can lead to their adoption by the receiver, it is also recognised that too much repetition can lead to

boredom and the refusal to listen or take seriously what is being said (see for example Michel (1967:268); Hartung (1974:467f)).

Many of the collocations heard and adopted by young people are from the ordinary Umgangssprache and thus of no relevance to the present thesis; however, as Hartung points out:

(es) existieren offenbar auch Kombinationsbeschränkungen, die ideologischen Ursprungs sind und jeweils nicht die gesamte Sprach- oder Kommunikationsgemeinschaft, sondern nur bestimmte Gruppen betreffen. Eine Bildung wie rote (kommunistische) Gefahr ist für einen Marxisten auf Grund der mit ihrer Bedeutung verbundenen Bewertung unakzeptabel. (Hartung (1974:258); see also Jenkins and Russell (1952:818))

It is with such collocations that we are concerned in the present thesis.

It is not necessarily the case that learners recall a structure or a collocation verbatim; it is believed that the information from a series of utterances is analysed and combined in the memory into a "wholistic semantic structure" (Griggs (1974:807)):

. . . an S's understanding depends not only on what he hears, but on the implications of this information in the light of relevant knowledge he also possesses. The S's were likely to think that information available only by implication was actually given during the acquisition task. (Johnson et al (1973:204)) (18)

It is therefore not necessary for every association and collocation that is ideologically desirable from the point of view of the sender to be presented verbatim to the receiver, although this can also achieve the desired result (Hartung (1974:475)); it is sufficient if the utterance - in our case the written text - contains in some form all elements of the message which the sender wishes to communicate to the receiver, or if the associations of sufficient of the concepts in the utterance are sufficiently well-known to the receiver for him to deduce any further meanings from them (Hartung (1974:476)).

In addition to the frequent repetition of the same or similar message in order to ensure acceptance and adoption, it is also widely accepted that the use of words in varying contexts facilitates both comprehension and retention; this ensures that rather than simply repeating words, either verbatim or by association, a text builds up a whole series of connotations which lead to understanding of the new terms (see Seelig (1969:75f); Taylor (1976:71), discussing Kimble and Garnezy (1968); Fleischer (1977:20); Göppner (1978:146f); O'Dell (1978:118)). It is not even necessary for the new words and phrases to be emphasised or

discussed in detail; their presence in a particular context can be enough to ensure that they are understood (Taylor (1976:234f)).

It is clear from the above discussion that a considerable amount is known about psychological aspects of language learning and use. This knowledge underlies much of our analysis below, particularly with regard to features such as repetition, collocation and implication. However, whilst it is possible to speculate on the effects of such usage on receivers, it is impossible for us to test this empirically; moreover, this is not the purpose of our investigation, which is concerned with the nature of ideological language itself and the intentions of the senders of that language, rather than with measuring the impact of it on receivers.

1.3 Language, political education and pedagogics

As stated above in the section on socialisation, little work has been done to date in the field of pedagogics on the role of language in the development of political awareness in young people, or on the most effective way of ensuring ideological conformity by means of language. As has been demonstrated above, there is in both FRG and GDR a general awareness that language can, and often does, influence people's perception and interpretation of extralinguistic reality, but the investigation of this with the aim of deepening insights into the linguistic-psychological processes involved remain, particularly in the FRG, largely rudimentary. Whilst relatively superficial discussions of lexis, mainly with reference to emotive and evaluative terminology, are fairly frequent, a thorough-going analysis of the interplay of the linguistic presentation of material and conceptual/attitudinal development has yet to be undertaken.

Whilst a great deal of research has been undertaken on the role of language in classroom teaching, this deals mainly with the spoken language employed in pupil-teacher interaction (see for example Cazden et al (1972); Schober (1974:90f) on Loch), or with difficulties encountered by working-class children in acquiring middle-class codes and the educational success this can bring (see for example Bernstein (1971, 1973, 1975, 1981)). There has been relatively little work undertaken on the role of written language in the education of schoolchildren.

It is recognised that the language used in political education classes serves functions other than the simply informative (see for example Minssen (1963:71); Dieckmann (1969:35)), but there have been few attempts to quantify this on anything but a very small scale.

Whilst there is some work available on politics textbooks used in schools, most of it is concerned with pedagogic and political aspects of the content of the books (see for example: Hub and Lange (1974); Hillers (1975); Nolte (1975); Claussen (1977); Stein (1977); Schallenberger and Hantsche (1978); Jeismann (1979); Pietzcker (1979); Stein (1979)), or with the method of presentation of particular topics (see for example: Kühnl (1973); Hoegen (1976); Rauch (1977); Bettien and Jacobi (1978); Bömer-Wulff and Klaus (1978); Böttcher (1978); Michalek (1978); Schramm (1979); Sperling (1979)). For many writers the prime consideration when discussing the language of school textbooks is the specialist language of the particular topic-area, its presentation, and its accessibility to the reader. The main focus of attention falls on the terminology used, and the main concern of the writers is that this terminology is incomprehensible to the reader, usually due to the fact that it is composed to a large degree of foreign loan-words (Priesemann (1977) *passim*; Messelken (N D), or that it refers to difficult abstract concepts with which the reader is unfamiliar (see Rosen (1972), esp p 119f; Fleischer (1977:131)) (19). The conclusion arrived at by most writers on this topic is that, whilst the compilers of school textbooks should avoid as far as possible specialist texts which employ excessively abstruse and difficult language - or that this language should be explained and clarified within the text itself (Hilligen (1976:14)) - special languages are nonetheless an indispensable part of the learning process, and as such should be treated with respect by teachers and their acquisition be demanded of pupils (Priesemann (1977:116)).

The other main area of concern in the lexical/content field is the inclusion of emotive and evaluative terminology in texts intended for use in schools. Writers from the GDR frequently accuse their FRG counterparts of using emotive and judgemental language in order to present a false or incomplete picture to the reader (20). The reverse relatively rarely happens - FRG writers largely ignore GDR books, except when comparing them with their own, and in this case they are concerned about content rather than language (see for example the work

of the Internationales Schulbuchinstitut, Braunschweig). Writers from both states are concerned that the language used in their own schoolbooks should arouse the interest and emotions of the readers and encourage them to become politically active: we have discussed above the importance of Parteilichkeit in political education in the GDR. Some FRG writers fear that by striving always to achieve impartiality in the presentation of material, the authors of schoolbooks risk drawing a monotonous and bloodless picture that will not capture the imagination of the reader and thus fail to fulfil its purpose. They therefore argue in favour of the moderate use of emotive terminology, without necessarily "prescribing" the reader's reaction through evaluative terminology (Stritzke (1974:255); Rumpf (1979:122, 125)).

Whilst much is made, particularly in earlier documents, of "immunising" the pupils against rival ideas (see for example Hilligen (1976:49)), surprisingly few works recommend specific methods of linguistic analysis that will aid this process; even the Hessische Rahmenrichtlinien Deutsch concentrate on the sociological and ideological aspects of German language and literature teaching to the virtual exclusion of the linguistic aspect. The following illustrates possibly the nearest approach to a prescription for linguistic analysis in that document:

Im Arbeitsbereich "Umgang mit Texten" sollen die Schüler also lernen, Texte richtig zu rezipieren und zu verwenden. Richtig bedeutet dabei, daß sie erkennen, welche Absicht ein Text verfolgt und auf welche Weise die Absicht im Text gegenwärtig ist. Dazu müssen sie lernen, die in einem Text gegebenen Informationen aufzunehmen und distanziert darzustellen, die Besonderheiten der Textstruktur zu bestimmen und die Intentionen des Textes mit Bezug auf die sprachlichen Mittel konkret zu benennen . . .
(HRRD:104)

Whilst the majority of FRG educationists are concerned with comprehension and appreciation rather than a critique of texts, nevertheless many of them recognise the necessity of a close reading and discussion of the language of texts by schoolchildren. For example, Scherner recommends an investigation of the progression of terms referring to the same person within a text with the aim of discovering the structure of the text (Scherner (1970:60)); this recovery of the referents of anaphoric pronouns is however intended for Unterstufe pupils, and is aimed more at comprehension than at analysis or evaluation. Heller compares the percentages of paratactic and hypotactic clauses and

types of conjunction in political pamphlets (Heller (1972:68f)). K H Wagner (1968) and Hopster (1970) present models of a more immediately linguistic analysis of texts, which aim at discovering how ideological beliefs can find expression in language.

In the GDR Hartung discusses in some detail the necessity and possibility of developing pupils' communication skills in school on the basis of various pedagogic stimuli; he mentions textbooks, however, only in connection with the pictures and diagrams they contain, and hardly discusses the form of the language in the books at all (Hartung (1974:353-70)). In connection with Staatsbürgerkunde he discusses the use of the word Arbeit in a political context and suggests that it be likened to its use in the context of physics as a way of clarifying its meaning and contributing to the development of the consciousness of the pupils. Apart from this the language of textbooks themselves is not discussed by Hartung. In the FRG Göppner likewise emphasises the importance of social and political socialisation and the acquisition of particular language skills, in the context of "einer kommunikationsorientierten Erziehung", where the development of ability in the children is the main focus of attention (Göppner (1979:168)) (21).

A number of the FRG writers who are concerned with the language of schoolbooks tend to be critical of the prevailing social order, and they direct their attention towards what they regard as the one-sided and excessively confirmatory presentation of FRG politics and society found in the majority of school textbooks. Thus Bettien and Jacobi, in their investigation of the way in which workers' participation in management is depicted, make, as part of their overall critique of the content of the books and the way source-material for them is selected, linguistic comments such as the following:

Der Eindruck, es handele sich um Sachargumente, wird durch die Wortwahl bewußt gefestigt. Allein durch die Verwendung sprachlicher Mittel gelingt es, das Bezeichnete als positiv oder negativ zu qualifizieren . . . "Die Arbeitgeberverbände sagen" - "Der DGB fordert". Die dahinterstehende Absicht ist offensichtlich. Die Unternehmeräußerung erhält den Anschein sachlicher Richtigkeit und gewinnt damit an Glaubwürdigkeit und Gewicht. (Bettien and Jacobi (1978:695))

Similarly, Nitzschke comments on the fact that texts habitually contain the term Lohn-Preis-Spirale rather than Preis-Lohn-Spirale, thus suggesting without overtly stating that inflation is the result of actions on the part of the workers, and leaving out of account the

possibility that it could be caused by employers' policies (Nitzschke (1966:257)) (22).

This kind of treatment of lexis, with a consideration of the modal and transactional implications of lexical choice, is similar to that which we employ below as part of our own analysis. We demonstrate that, it can, if undertaken in isolation, provide a partial insight into the ideological use of language; however, if it is applied as part of a broader theory of language use, it can provide a powerful tool for the investigation of the relationship between language and ideology.

Some writers, particularly from the GDR, have recognised the need for a more systematic approach to the issue of language in political education than has hitherto been undertaken, and have called for more research to be done in this area. These writers recognise that, whilst a strong and consistent linguistic theory is needed, this alone is not enough to deal adequately with this issue; since political education touches on many different areas, including psychology, pedagogics, sociology and political science as well as linguistics, a multi-disciplinary approach is needed in order to cater for as many of these disparate aspects as possible. Thus Hartung called for greater emphasis to be placed on the pragmatic aspect of language as a means to understanding how language can affect people's beliefs and behaviour (23). Similarly, W Schmidt has emphasised the link between linguistics and psychology and the necessity for further research in order to maximise the effectiveness of mother-tongue teaching in the development of socialist consciousness (W Schmidt (1971:626f)) (24). Motsch believes that this has begun to happen.(25).

In the specific context of the language of school textbooks, work done at the Pädagogische Hochschule, Köthen is particularly useful for our present purposes. Nestler's thesis on the complexity of schoolbook language, to which we refer in more detail below, points out

(daß) die Schulbuchtheorie noch am Beginn ihrer Entwicklung steht und in der Lerntheorie, Entwicklungspsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft kaum spezielle Hinweise zu Qualitäten, Wirkungen und Maßstäben der lexikalisch-syntaktischen Lehrtextgestaltung zu finden sind. (Nestler (1975:4))

Nestler's work is aimed at developing "Maßnahmen zur Effektivierung des Unterrichtsgeschehens" on the basis of "lehrplangerechte, verständliche Lehrtexte" (Nestler (1975:1); see also B Schneider (1969);

Dörrheit (1974); Forschungsgruppe Schulbuch (1974); Trequbenko (1974); Schwinge (1978)).

Some FRG writers are also aware of the problematic and multi-disciplinary nature of the analysis of political language and the need for further research, although as yet there has been little attempt to undertake work in the specific area of schoolbook language. Glaser writes:

Aus dieser Aufzählung . . . ergibt sich, daß eine Untersuchung politischer Sprache und politischer Texte nur geleistet werden kann, wenn sie gesellschaftstheoretisch fundiert ist und zu einer Integration literaturwissenschaftlicher, kommunikationswissenschaftlicher, linguistischer und sozialpsychologischer Methoden und Ansätzen kommt. (Glaser (1971:160); this conclusion is drawn at the end of a discussion of the language of two political speeches, aimed at providing a model for classwork in schools).

Whilst most writers on political language are, as noted above, concerned almost exclusively with lexis, some also take into consideration syntactic features of various kinds; in the context of schoolbooks this is mainly done to establish the level of difficulty of the text on the basis of clause- and sentence-length (see BfpB: Sprache und Politik (1971); Nestler (1975) esp p 18f, 106f; Schmerder and Tausch (1978) passim) or the explicitness or otherwise of causal relationships (Glaser (1971:150); Stritzke (1974:259); Lerner (1975:33f); Fleischer (1977:71, 80)), the use of modal features to manipulate the reader (Eigenwald (1972:131); Fleischer (1977:129)) or cohesive features (Fleischer (1977:62, 102)). There has been some work done in English on the syntax of scientific and pedagogic texts, much of which is based on the theoretical linguistic work of Halliday, on which we base our own analysis (see Huddleston et al (1968); Roe (1977)). These are all, however, only partial attempts to solve the problem, and as Fleischer states, it is generally recognised that more work is needed on sentence structure before the full extent of the interplay of language and learning can be appreciated (Fleischer (1977:210)).

It is clear from the above that there is a general awareness of the need for an interdisciplinary approach to language study, and some efforts have been made in this direction, particularly in the GDR. Even these, however, whilst in part dealing specifically with schoolbooks and learnability, do not take into account the specifically ideological nature of the texts, whilst those that do this are, for the most part, not undertaken from a linguistic point of view. It is our intention in the present thesis to attempt such an analysis, and

the most suitable theory we have found to form a basis for this analysis is Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, particularly as it is applied by those writers to whom we refer as the UEA linguists.

2 Hallidayan linguistics: the specific linguistic framework of the thesis

The methodology employed in our analysis of aspects of the language of school textbooks from the GDR and the FRG derives from that of M A K Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar, and from the applications made of Halliday's methods by Kress and others in their "Critical Linguistics" (26). This method of analysis was deemed suitable for our investigation for two reasons:

- a) the explicitly social and functional orientation of Halliday's linguistic theory appeared appropriate for the analysis of texts written for use in a specific social situation and to achieve specific results; the interplay of language and society, and their consequent contribution to what we are terming "ideology", is very important in Halliday's work;
- b) the work done by Kress and others on the basis of Halliday's theories on the ideology implicit in texts in English provided a useful stimulus and point of comparison for our own analysis of German texts.

We will now consider each of these points in more detail.

2.1 The social and functional orientation of Halliday's work

Like other proponents of functional linguistics (see for example Dik (1978); Monaghan (1979:1); Dik (1980:1-2); Saint-Jacques (1981)) (27) Halliday constantly emphasises the importance of the social aspects of language, the role of language as a tool in communication, and as an interpreter and mediator of extralinguistic reality:

The particular form taken by the grammatical system of language is closely related to the social and personal needs that language is required to serve . . . Language also gives structure to experience, and helps to determine our way of looking at things, so that it requires some intellectual effort to see them in any other way than that which our language suggests to us. (Halliday (1970a:142-3); see also (1967a:3-4) on sociogrammar and socio-semantics;

(1973:65); (1974a:25); (1975a:121); see similarly
Martinet (1964:18); S J Schmidt (1973:18) quoting
Leontiev (1971:31))

Clearly this view of language is of immediate relevance to an investigation of the present kind, in which we are concerned to discover the ways in which a particular perception of reality can be encoded (consciously or unconsciously) in language as part of the attempt to transmit this particular perception to other people in a particular social context. Halliday continually emphasises that it is important for the linguist to deal with the practical use made of language by speakers in everyday situations (see for example Halliday (1973:20)). He also emphasises the major functions it has in the communication of both children and adults: he discerns the instrumental, regulatory, personal, heuristic, imaginative and representational functions in children's language (see Halliday (1973), esp p 9-21; (1975b:860); (1978:53f)); these reduce to three macrofunctions in adult language, two extralinguistic, the ideational and the interpersonal, and one intralinguistic, the textual (28). This type of tripartite view of language use is not unique to Halliday (29), but we adopt it in the present thesis as it provides a suitable framework for our analyses and because of the overall sociolinguistic direction of Halliday's work mentioned above. We deal with aspects of all three of Halliday's linguistic functions in our analyses below.

Halliday insists that "the form of language has been determined by the functions it has to serve" (Halliday (1973:100); see also Halliday (1978:4); Monaghan (1979:83) on Halliday's view of language as a tool), and thus the main focus of attention of the linguist who is dealing with language from a functional point of view should be actual instances of language as they are produced in particular social situations by real speakers, rather than the grammatically completely correct usage of the ideal speaker-hearer of the structuralists, or the abstract linguistic ability at the preverbalised level of de Saussure's langue and Chomsky's competence (see Halliday (1964:15); (1973:85); also Guchmann (1975), esp p 716). In fact, Halliday dismisses as irrelevant to his purposes the langue/parole and competence/performance dichotomies (30). He concentrates on the social rather than the psychological aspects of language:

a functional theory is not a theory about the mental processes involved in the learning of the mother tongue; it

is a theory about the social processes involved.
(Halliday (1974a:15), also in Halliday (1978:18))

In this he follows his mentor Firth who wrote as follows:

In linguistics, as in other social sciences, we start with man's active participation in the world we are theorising about . . . If we regard language as 'expressive' or 'communicative' we imply that it is an instrument of inner mental states . . . By regarding words as acts, events, habits, we limit our inquiry to what is objective and observable in the group life of our fellows . . . My own approach to meaning in linguistics has always been independent of such dualisms as mind and body, language and thought, word and idea, signifiant et signifié, expression and content. These dichotomies are a quite unnecessary nuisance, and in my opinion should be dropped. (Firth (1957b:2); see also p 7, where he denies being totally anti-mentalist; also Firth (1957a:189))

In the present thesis we do not employ these terms; whilst it could be said that we are aiming at discovering some kind of "ideological deep structure" (see S J Schmidt (1972b:62)), this is very different from what Chomsky means by deep structure, being related to one's unconscious and unformulated knowledge about the world at large, rather than to one's passive linguistic ability (see Halliday and Hasan (1976: 1)). It is not possible for us in the present thesis to test our results in any meaningful way with regard to their effectiveness in causing people to perceive the world in a particular way, and so the main thrust of our analysis must be concerned with the analysis of actual written language and what can be deduced from it.

Halliday's work is squarely in the tradition of ethnolinguistics as pioneered by Malinowski, the major proponent of which at present is Hymes (31); indeed, many social anthropologists, in England at least, have relatively recently adopted a Hallidayan view of language as the basis for much of their own work, placing, like Lévi-Strauss, anthropology and linguistics on an equal footing as the main components of Saussurean semiology (Ardener (1971:lvii)). For these writers, as for Halliday himself, the essential prerequisite to an analysis of language is a consideration of the social context in which the communication takes place. Hymes writes:

The natural unit for sociolinguistic taxonomy (and description) . . . is not the language but the speech community. (Hymes (1977:34))

This is reminiscent of Malinowski's context of culture (see Monaghan (1979:21)) and Firth's context of situation (Firth (1957a:181) attributes this term to Malinowski; see also Firth (1957b:5, 7, 9); Halliday

(1973:49); Monaghan (1979:23, 32f)). We deal in more detail in Part III with Halliday's field, mode and tenor as components of context.

Halliday rejects the term "sociolinguistics" as tautological, and believes that the most he could be said to be investigating is the sociology of language (Halliday (1975b:857, 876); see also Monaghan (1979:88)). Halliday's view of language as a medium for socialisation and as the encoder of social beliefs and practices is similar to Hymes's "communicative competence", by which he refers to the - not necessarily actively realised - ability of an individual to function fully in a society by means of language, participating in all customs and subscribing to the same generally accepted view of reality as the rest of society (see Hymes (1977:75); also Hymes (1971); Halliday (1973:54)). Halliday writes:

When we stress the fact that language takes place in a context of situation, and say that a child is able to learn from what he hears because there is a systematic relation between what he hears and what is going on around him, this is not primarily because our talk is focussed on the objects and events of the external world. Much of the time it is not; and even when it is, it does not reflect their structure in any unprocessed or "objective" way but as it is processed by the culture. The relation of talk to environment lies in the total semiotic structure of the interaction: the significant ongoing activity . . . and the social matrix within which meanings are being exchanged. (Halliday (1975a:141); see also Lakoff (1972:922); Halliday (1974a:28, 34); Halliday and Hasan (1976:21, 23); Hymes (1977:45))

Halliday regards language use as part of social behaviour, and believes that language grows out of and embodies the basic beliefs and perceptions of the society which uses it. Through an analysis of language events it is possible to posit the "meaning potential" of a particular society and so discover how extra-linguistic reality is encoded and revealed in the language system:

From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, the semantic system can be defined as a functional or function-oriented meaning potential, a network of options for the encoding of some extra-linguistic semiotic system or systems . . . In principle this higher-level semiotic system may be viewed in the tradition of humanist thought as a conceptual or cognitive system, one of information about the real world. But it may equally be viewed as a semiotic of some other type, logical, ideological, aesthetic - or social. (Halliday (1975b:867); see also Halliday (1978:52); but see Lyons (1968:135) where he warns against too close an identification of semantics and grammar)

The relevance of this kind of approach to the present thesis is clear.

Halliday believes that in an analysis of this kind some previous knowledge of the society in question is necessary before beginning a linguistic analysis; our own opinion stated above is also that a linguistic analysis can only be meaningfully carried out when the social context in which it is used is also known (see Henle (1958:123f); Schumann (1966:647); Hymes (1977:75)).

Halliday believes that the language produced by speakers in actual social situations is more than simply a reflex of the overall context, of linguistic conformity to particular extralinguistic requirements, but that rather to a certain extent language can be said to constitute reality:

. . . as language becomes a metaphor of reality, so by the same process reality becomes a metaphor of language. Since reality is a social construct, it can be constructed only through an exchange of meanings. Hence meanings are seen as constitutive of reality . . . With a sociological linguistics we should be able to stand back from this perspective, and arrive at an interpretation of language through understanding its place in the long-term evolution of the social system (Halliday (1978:191); see also p 141)

This is reminiscent of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis discussed in Part I, and whilst our reservations on this issue stated there still stand, it is nonetheless the case that a close investigation of utterances occurring in particular social situations can reveal interesting and valuable insights into the fundamental beliefs and prejudices, whether conscious or not, of the speakers (32). Halliday writes that people "act out" the social structure in their speech (Halliday (1978:2, 3)), and that most utterances are not unique but highly predictable and situation-specific (Halliday (1978:4); see also Firth (1957a:28f); Halliday (1964:17); Greene (1977:82)). Moreover, he takes this argument further and concludes that the forms of language used in a particular society can have far-reaching consequences for the individual psyche:

If we accept that . . . "so much of human behaviour is socially conditioned rather than genetically determined", it is not difficult to suppose an intimate connection between language on the one hand and modes of thought and behaviour on the other. (Halliday (1978:25))

Halliday does not develop this line of reasoning any further or refer to it in his analyses, but its similarity to the view taken in the present thesis is clear. We return to this issue in Part III.

Another aspect of this sociological view of language, which Halliday

likewise leaves undeveloped, but which proves a fruitful starting-point for work undertaken by Kress, Fowler and others, is that of ideology. Halliday sees this as a feature of the "real world" contributing, together with social structure and the adult linguistic system, to the creation of texts in particular situations (Halliday (1975b:860)). (We discuss the term "text" in more detail in Part III). Halliday's use of the term "ideology" is similar to our own use of the term as described above, namely not in its narrow political/doctrinal sense, but in a much broader sense as a general way of looking at the world. This further confirms the relevance of Halliday's model to the present thesis.

Clearly neither Halliday nor anyone else is suggesting that there is an isomorphic relationship between language and society, or that by looking at the one it is immediately possible to draw clear and unambiguous conclusions about the other; rather, Halliday refers to "the particular networks of meaning that are operative in particular social contexts" and continually emphasises the complex and frequently unpredictable relationship between language and society (Halliday (1975b: 870); see also Hymes (1977:31, 114)).

Halliday's work on primary language acquisition in young children, whilst not directly relevant to the present thesis, is important in that in his work on child language development Halliday describes his view of the socialisation of juveniles by means of language into the society in which they are living:

It is first and foremost through language that the culture is transmitted to the child, in the course of everyday interaction in the key socialising agencies of family, peer group and school . . . In the course of (this process), the child himself also takes over the coding orientation, the subcultural semiotic bias that is a feature of all social structures. (Halliday (1978:125); see also Hymes (1977:75); Halliday (1974a:11))

Halliday, like Firth (Firth (1957:185), sees language as the primary means of socialisation, with the school as a secondary, but nonetheless important agent; in school as elsewhere language is most important (Halliday (1974a:4, 21)).

As we have demonstrated above, it is widely believed that the linguistic structures encountered in adult life and, which is more important for our present purpose, in secondary socialisation, in-

fluence and possibly even determine the way in which the receiver of a message perceives the section of extralinguistic reality mentioned by the sender. Although Halliday emphasises that in primary socialisation this transmission of the social semiotic is done in an unstructured non-systematic way (33), and does not deal with any deliberate attempts to influence adults through language, it is a relatively small step from his insistence on the importance of language in primary acculturation to the kind of analysis undertaken by the UEA linguists of the social/ideological content of apparently politically neutral texts intended for adults (see later in this section), and our own investigation of the deliberate attempt to influence politically and emotionally immature pupils by means of language.

Halliday regards the bulk of his work on systemic functional grammar as a contribution to the study of semantics, which he describes as:

the interface between the social system and the linguistic system . . . Just as the lexicogrammatical system realises the semantic system, the semantic system realises the behavioural system, or the social semiotic. (Halliday (1978:115, 42); see also p 43; Halliday (1975b:868); Halliday (1977:176); on the advantages and disadvantages of such an approach, see Lyons (1968:134f))

It is clear from this definition that if one wishes to discover the ways in which the social semiotic is reflected in language use, it is necessary to begin with an analysis of actual realisations of lexicogrammatical structures, as a preliminary to discussing the choices that were made at the semantic level. This is the kind of analysis undertaken by the UEA linguists on a variety of texts in English, and which we undertake below on texts in German.

Halliday describes the semantic system of a language as:

a network of options, of choices . . .
A semantic network is a representation of semantic options, or choices in meaning. (Halliday (1978:40-1))

By looking at the choices that have been made at various points in an utterance, ie by looking at the words used, and considering the implications of their use in preference to other possible choices that could have been made at that point, Halliday believes that it should be possible for the linguist to draw conclusions as to the overall semiotic system within which the sender is operating and which (at least in part) determines the linguistic choices he makes (see Halliday, in Kress (1976:34)). An important consequence of this belief in the

crucial significance of the actual choices which are made is Halliday's extreme caution with respect to the issue of synonymy, to the extent that he doubts whether there can ever be any cases of absolute synonymy on both the denotative and the connotative levels:

it usually turns out that the distinction in the lexico-grammatical system does in fact express a more delicate distinction in the semantic system. (Halliday (1978:44)) (34)

This view is of particular relevance to our analysis below, especially in our discussion of voice, where we argue that in terms both of the degree of information provided, and in terms of functional sentence perspective, actives and passives are not synonymous. Trew and others make particular use of this insight in their discussion of the transformations in newspaper headlines on the same topic over a period of days, and the differing pictures of the same events that are presented through the use of different linguistic constructions (see for example Trew (1978) *passim*). Halliday himself insists that form and meaning cannot be separated:

A descriptive grammar of the language of a given text deals with 'the meaning of the whole event'; the meaning is not separate from or opposed to the linguistic form but is a function of the whole text. The complete text has meaning in the social context in which it operates, and this is to be stated by the procedure of 'contextualization'. (Halliday (1959:9-10); see also Firth (1957b:11) discussing Wittgenstein's view of this issue; Halliday (1961b :3f, 40); Halliday, McIntosh, Stevens (1964:32, 40); Berry (1975, vol 2:48))

The relevance of this argument to our present analysis will be seen more clearly below as we discuss the ideological aspects of specific linguistic structures.

Halliday terms his description of language "systemic", defining a system as:

a set of features one, and only one, of which must be selected if the entry condition to that system is satisfied; any selection of features formed from a given system network constitutes the 'systemic description' of a class of items. (Halliday (1967b:37); see also Halliday (1964); (1966))

The term "system", and Halliday's other central term "structure", are adopted from the usage of Firth (see Firth (1957b:5, 17, 30); see also Halliday (1966a:60, 63); W Schmidt et al (1969b:523); Monaghan (1979:65)).

Halliday differentiates between the closed systems of grammar, which contain a limited number of options, and the open sets of lexis, where

there is no theoretical limit on the number of possible options, although he admits that this is only a methodological distinction, and that the two are in fact on a cline (Halliday (1961a:247f)). In the present thesis we are not attempting to write a complete and comprehensive description of the semantic system of German, but only to describe those structures encountered in actual texts and to account for the items in these structures - at least partially - as the realisations of a series of choices. For this reason we do not differentiate explicitly between systems and sets, but operate simply with the concept of choice in all cases, whether this be in connection with grammatical structures or lexical selection, and discuss those features that were chosen in preference to some others. We do not attempt to account for or describe the full range of options in each case.

We adopt Halliday's usage of 'structure', which he describes thus:

The structure is a syntagmatic framework of interrelated elements, which are paradigmatically established in the systems of classes and stated as values in the structure. (Halliday (1961a:272))

The structural representation of a sentence is derived by realisation from the systemic one, so that the latter is the more abstract. (Halliday, in Kress (1976:6))

A consequence of Halliday's method is that any description of language based on it must work from a concept of language as text, rather than a series of sentences:

The quality of texture is not defined by size. There is a concept of a text as a kind of super-sentence, something that is larger than a sentence but of the same nature. But this is to misrepresent the essential quality of a text. Obviously one cannot quarrel with the use of the term 'text' to refer to a string of sentences that realise a text; but it is important to stress that the sentences are, in fact, the realisation of text rather than constituting the text itself. Text is a semantic concept. (Halliday (1977:193-4); also quoted in Halliday (1978:135); see also Halliday (1975b:854))

Halliday emphasises that a text-grammar is qualitatively different from a sentence-grammar, and the one cannot do service for the other (see for example Halliday (1975b:854, 861); Halliday and Hasan (1976:1-2) and passim); Halliday (1977:197); Hymes (1977:98f); Halliday (1978:2); Monaghan (1979:83)). We return to this point below in our discussion of cohesion.

Halliday writes further:

Text is the primary channel of the transmission of culture: and it is this aspect - text as the semantic process of social dynamics - that more than anything else has shaped the semantic system. (Halliday (1977:199); see also Halliday (1978:141))

In our analysis below we discuss structures mainly at the level of the sentence; this is done simply for ease of analysis, and because most of the points we wish to make can be made at this level; only when we discuss cohesion do we deal with the suprasentential level. It is in the nature of the texts which we are analysing that they contain very few if any independent textual units of less than a single sentence in length. Our working on the sentence-level does not imply any dissatisfaction or disagreement with Halliday's method; it is simply the case that the description we are undertaking is on a much smaller scale than Halliday's own, and a great deal of analysis at the suprasentential level is difficult for us working alone.

In summary, we make use of Halliday's basic theory as far as it is useful to us, and where it does not serve our purpose we amend or abandon it. As Halliday himself writes:

In assessing the value of a description, it is reasonable to ask whether it has proved useful for the purpose for which it is intended. (Halliday (1964:13); see also Halliday (1961a:246))

We use Halliday's method as far as is practicable, and then use it as the basis for developing our own. We discuss details of the applications made of Halliday's ideas in the individual analyses below.

2.2 Applications of Halliday's theory made by Kress and others

A vast amount of work has been done in the area of functional grammar in general, and in the 'Neo-Firthian tradition' in particular, which it is impossible for us to survey here (see for example Dik (1978); Monaghan (1979); Fawcett (1980)). Our own analysis developed out of the reading of a series of books and articles dealing with ideological aspects of texts in English, written by a group of linguists who explicitly derive their methodologies from that of Halliday and who regard themselves as adapting and developing Halliday's largely theoretical work to the practical analysis of texts (see Hodge and Kress (1974) *passim*; Fowler (1977a:47); Fowler (1977b:176f); Trew (1978:42f)

Fowler et al (1979:3, 123f, 188f); Kress and Hodge (1979:100); Law (1980:30)). Like Halliday, these writers, whom we are terming the "UEA-linguists", regard reality as a social construct largely created through language:

The world of perception and cognition - the world as we know it - is an artifice, a social construct . . . Typical and repeated patterns of interaction, technological procedures and the development of roles and institutions cause the members of a society to represent the world as a system of recognisable objects: habituated categories of perception and action which simplify the society's management of itself and of its habitat . . . In a nutshell, we see the world in terms of the categories through which we and our society have constituted it. (Fowler (1980:2); see also Hodge and Kress (1974:17f); Fowler (1977a:36, 47); Trew (1978:40); Fowler et al (1979:1, 3, 33, 111, 185f); Kress and Hodge (1979:6); H Wagner (1981))

This view is founded on a kind of synthesis of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, neo-marxist philosophy and the insights of sociology as typified by Berger and Luckmann's The Social Construction of Reality (1967) (see Hodge and Kress (1974:13f); Kress and Hodge (1979:62f, 111); H Wagner (1981:20)). Like Halliday, these writers regard language essentially as social activity, but stress the influence of language on the individual psyche to a greater degree than does Halliday:

(Linguistics) must be vitally concerned with the relation between language and mind, since language is only interesting when we see it as a living process. For all humans, language and thought are inextricably bound together. But linguistics must be equally concerned with the relations between society and language, since language is so distinctly a social phenomenon. Language is given to the individual by the society in which he or she lives. It is a key instrument in socialisation, and the means whereby society forms and permeates the individual's consciousness. (Kress and Hodge (1979:1); see also p 5, 13, 21f; Hodge and Kress (1974:5); Fowler et al (1979:190f))

The UEA linguists insist that the scope of linguistics and its subdivisions be redefined to take account of this view, and that much traditional linguistics is essentially sterile as a result of the failure to consider sufficiently the social aspect of language:

If language is seen as the direct reflection of social and intellectual processes, then the subject-matter of linguistics necessarily covers precisely those areas formerly held to constitute Applied Linguistics, such as Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Stylistics and so on. (Hodge and Kress (1974:18); see also Frese (1972:102); Zimmermann (1972:118); Fleischer (1977:1f) where he calls for a multidisciplinary approach to linguistics)

As a concomitant of the process of socialisation, a particular world-view is created in the individual, such that he will conform to the norms and mores of society as a whole, usually not as a result of conscious choice or conviction, but rather as the result of subtle, subconscious conditioning. The views and beliefs underlying and informing this conformist behaviour are called by Fowler 'ideology':

An ideology is just a theory, a system of beliefs which has come to be constructed as a way of comprehending the world. No person can engage with the world without the cognitive support of ideology in this sense. Ideology cannot be removed . . . (Fowler (1980:4)) (35)

This view of ideology is very similar to our own discussed above; it may, but need not, include conscious beliefs of the type evidenced in party-political preferences or political convictions in general. In our analysis below we are interested in the linguistic formulation of both conscious and articulable beliefs and subconscious beliefs or "prejudices". Fowler writes further that, since ideology is transmitted and maintained through the medium of language, an analysis of language can provide insights into the ideology of the group using it:

It comes as no surprise that there is a manifest relationship between socio-economic structure and ideology. More important . . . is the role of language in mediating the relationship . . . Linguistic analysis provides a novel point of entry for investigating the relationship between belief systems and social structures. (Fowler (1980:5); see also p 6, 8; Hodge and Kress (1974:5); Kress and Trew (1978a:775); Trew (1978:39f); Kress and Hodge (1979:13f))

Up to this point in their argument we are in complete agreement with the UEA linguists that a language can be seen as the embodiment of the ideology of a society, and that an analysis of the language can be a way of approaching an analysis of the society (36). We have discussed above some approaches that have been taken to language in general and political language in particular, and the general failure on the part of linguists to reach any very penetrating or enlightening conclusions on the particular nature of political language, and we agree with the UEA linguists that it must be at least part of the task of linguistics to deal with language as the embodiment and mediator of ideologies, and on the necessity of developing new analytical methods in order to achieve this:

A more powerful linguistics of the kind envisaged should allow a more illuminating study of any writer's language, and of the relationship between forms of language and modes of thought, conducted in terms that assume innumerable connections between a writer and the society he creatively

realises. (Hodge and Kress (1974:19))

There comes a point in the work of the UEA linguists at which we no longer fully agree with the fundamental aims of their analyses. This is in connection with their view of linguistics as a tool with which the preconceptions in language and society not only can be revealed and discussed, but must, by reason of their being revealed, be changed. This is what Fowler and Kress call "Critical Linguistics", and we have already mentioned their views in our section above on Critique.

The UEA linguists extend Halliday's view of language and society as reflexes of each other in a specifically political direction that is only briefly touched upon by Halliday himself and even more briefly by Firth, namely that language encodes and preserves the power-relations obtaining within society. Halliday himself writes as follows:

A 'sociosemiotic' perspective implies an interpretation of the shifts, the irregularities, the disharmonies and the tensions that characterise human interaction and social processes. It attempts to explain the semiotic of the social structure, in its aspects both of persistence and of change, including the semantics of social class, of the power system, of hierarchy and of social conflict. It attempts also to explain the linguistic processes whereby the members construct the social semiotic, whereby social reality is shaped, constrained and modified - processes which, far from tending towards an ideal construction, admit and even institutionalise myopia, prejudice and misunderstanding. (Halliday (1978:126); see also Halliday (1975b: 876))

Here Halliday is clearly interested simply in developing discovery procedures in order to present an adequate description of the interplay between language and society; although he recognises clearly that inequities exist in society - he adopts Mary Douglas's phrase used in connection with the work of Bernstein of the "distribution of speech forms as equally a realisation of the distribution of power" (Halliday (1975b:873); see also Bernstein (1981:334)) - he does not regard it as part of his task to criticise or attempt to change these. He sees the employment of language as a method of control as a normal and legitimate concomitant of the socialisation process, and not inherently sinister or unnecessarily manipulative. This is very similar to the view apparently taken by Firth, who writes as follows:

The language of social control in the whole of education, including all forms of apprenticeship, and not only schooling, might well be systematically studied and stated by situational formulation. The do and don't texts and all the inter-

rogatives and jussives of childhood and adolescence, lend themselves to such analysis. (Firth (1957b:10))

In our own analysis in Part III of the questions and tasks set for the pupils in the school textbooks we seek to reveal and explain the power-relations implicit in these; we do not feel empowered to offer a critique of them. The UEA linguists, however, extend the concept of social control through language from the context of the socialisation of juveniles to the much broader field of adult society and the social inequalities existing there as a result of differences of class, education, intelligence etc, and perceive the whole issue as much more sinister than do Firth and Halliday.

Fowler and Kress write, as part of their development of the ideas contained in Brown and Gilman (1960):

Prominent among the social structures which influence linguistic structures is inequality of power. Language not only encodes power differences, but is also instrumental in enforcing them. (Fowler et al (1979:16); see also p 1, 2, 185f) (37)

The UEA linguists in general regard it as part of the task of linguistics to illustrate these power-relations, not as an end in itself, but as a preliminary to liberating people from them, ie for them linguistics is not simply a descriptive or analytic discipline, but rather a tool to be used in the emancipatory struggles of a moribund class-society:

Language is an instrument of control as well as of communication. Linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted. In this way hearers can be both manipulated and informed, preferably manipulated while they suppose they are being informed. Language is ideological in another, more political, sense of that word: it involves systematic distortion in the service of class interest. (Kress and Hodge (1979:6))

Fowler sees linguistics, and particularly linguistic criticism, as criticism of language. To spell it out, critical analysis of the social practices that are managed through the use of language . . . I mean a careful analytic interrogation of the ideological categories, and the roles and institutions and so on, through which a society constitutes and maintains itself and the consciousness of its members . . . Criticism analyses the processes of construction and, acknowledging the artificial quality of the categories concerned, offers the possibility that we might profitably conceive of the world in some alternative way. (Fowler (1980:1, 3))

and Kress and Trew attempt to show

how linguistic theory can be a useful aid in analysing the

material of sociological research. (Kress and Trew
(1978a:757)) (38)

As we have indicated above in our section on Critique, we do not regard it as part of the function of the present thesis to deliver judgements on or suggest alternatives to prevailing social and ideological norms in either German state, as these may be reflected or revealed in the school texts; we regard the exercise of illustrating and discussing the power-relations and other ideological features contained in the language as a legitimate and autonomous one, and not one that need be regarded simply as a preliminary to a wider sociological investigation.

The type of analysis undertaken by the UEA linguists in order to discover and illustrate the ideological content of language represents a synthesis of systemic functional grammar as developed in particular by Halliday, and some features of transformational generative grammar, specifically the concept of transformation. Like Halliday, the UEA linguists believe that the form and the content of language are inseparable and part each of the other:

The meaningfulness of choice from a system alone is not enough, if one regards the items in the system as arbitrary and conventional representations of their referents. It is only when we acknowledge the meaning carried by the items themselves, that linguistic form can be demonstrated to be a realisation of social (and other) meanings. (Fowler et al (1979:6); see also p 3; Uhlig (1972:39); Fowler (1977a:46); Kress and Trew (1978a:760))

This leads to the need to consider not simply the denotative meaning of a text, but also choice of vocabulary, type of modifier, voice of verb, word order etc, ie all aspects of the surface structure of the text, many of which are frequently ignored or taken for granted. We discuss these features in more detail below.

The UEA linguists follow Halliday in largely rejecting Chomsky's approach to language, since they feel that this does not pay sufficient attention to the social aspects of language, and that Chomsky's results are empirically untestable (see for example Hodge and Kress (1974:6, 10f); Fowler et al (1979:113)). Whilst they recognise the importance of psychology in language, they emphasise this less on the level of the individual, as is the case with Chomsky's ideal speaker-hearer, but rather on the level of society as a whole, a kind of

collective unconscious which forms the fundamental ideology of the society (see for example Hodge and Kress (1974:19f)). One of Chomsky's central ideas that is adopted and adapted by the UEA linguists for their own purposes is that of transformation: this involves changes in lexis, word order and information structure, and thus inevitably involves a change of meaning:

A good case can be made for transformations not simply "expressing" meanings but rather having meanings themselves. (Fowler (1977a:45)) (39)

Thus the particular verb form used is significant, both in itself and in relation to other verb forms that could potentially have been used but which were not; thus issues of voice, (de)letion of agency, negativity, modifying phrase and clause usage are dealt with in detail:

The ideological character of a discourse consists in the systematic patterns and organisation of linguistic characteristics of the relevant kind, including, in particular, the systematic patterns of classification of process and participants and the presentation of agency and interaction. (Fowler et al (1979:154))

On the issue of transformations, Kress and Hodge write as follows:

In transformational theory it is assumed that transformations are always innocent (that is, they do not alter the meaning of the basic form) and can always be reversed. In actual discourse this is, sadly, not always the case. Transformations serve two functions, economy and distortion, often so inextricably mixed that even the speaker cannot separate them. (Kress and Hodge (1979:9); see also p 15-37; W Schmidt (1969b:525); Kress and Trew (1978a); Kress and Trew (1978b); Fowler et al (1979:117f))

This reiterates the UEA linguists' view of language as a means of both deliberate and non-deliberate manipulation of receivers by senders, and its employment as a tool in the creation and maintenance of differential power-relations. We follow the UEA linguists in regarding transformations not as merely "stylistic" variations of structures, but as significant in their own right in terms of what they make clear and what remains unsaid. In our analyses in Part III we discuss extracts of language from the school textbooks from this standpoint; in doing so we again follow the UEA linguists in that, rather than adopting a Chomskyan framework and Chomskyan terminology in our discussion of transformations, we deal with them in Hallidayan terms as examples of choices from (paradigmatic) systems, and discuss possible alternative (syntagmatic) structures and the differences in meaning these would contain.

We discuss in more detail below in the individual sections of our own

analysis the work done by the UEA linguists and the techniques they have developed for dealing with texts. Our own methodology was developed on the basis of the analyses presented by the UEA linguists, and which are briefly summarised in Fowler's "checklist" which he presented as part of his inaugural lecture (Fowler (1980)). The methods of Halliday and the UEA linguists had to be adapted in some cases to cope with German syntax; this is discussed in detail in each section of the analysis below. There has been relatively little work on systemic functional linguistics done in or on German, a notable exception being work done by the Prague school on comparative English/German Functional Sentence Perspective (40). Our method of analysis evolved gradually over a period of time during which a series of text extracts were investigated. Much of the terminology used has been adopted from the sources discussed above; in other cases where existing terms used in the description of English did not appear adequate for the description of German, we have added our own terminology. This again is dealt with below.

3 Conclusion

In our survey of research in Part II we have illustrated the essentially interdisciplinary nature of the present thesis, which draws on work carried out in several other specialisms besides the main area of linguistic science. The results of research carried out in the fields of political language, pedagogics and psychology provided an impetus for the analyses presented in Part III, and underlie and inform many of the conclusions which we draw. We have, however, demonstrated in Part II that the research which we are undertaking extends beyond the parameters of work carried out in these fields.

In our discussion of the work of M A K Halliday we have illustrated those features of his theoretical and analytical writings which make his work a suitable basis for the present thesis. Halliday's stress on the importance of the context of situation of utterances, and his concentration on language in use, as opposed to the more abstract work of the Chomskyan school, together with his view of language as a functional tool are all features which we believe provide a valid and viable framework for the analyses presented in this thesis. The work undertaken by the UEA linguists on the basis of texts in English, in

which the researchers acknowledge their indebtedness to the work of Halliday, represents an important point of reference for our own work, in which we apply aspects of Halliday's work in an analysis of a particular register of German. In our analyses in Part III, which are based on issues discussed and insights gained in Parts I and II, we discuss the nature of ideological language that is produced by senders holding radically differing views with the aim of persuading young people to adopt those views. These analyses represent an application of a Hallidayan analysis to a language other than English on a larger scale than has generally been attempted hitherto.

Notes

- 1 See also Lübke (1967:354, 366), where he writes of the importance of language in the maintenance of group identity; Lasswell et al (1968:57f) on language and miranda; Dieckmann (1969:49f); S J Schmidt (1972a:92), where he describes the language of politics as a call to action and a means of social integration; Bachem (1979:63f, 67).
- 2 Glaser (1971:147) writes that political speakers fail to differentiate between reality and their own ideals, and believe them to be identical; hearers can also fall into this trap if they fail to question what they hear.
- 3 See also Frese (1972:103f); Uhlig (1972:97) writes that the language of all political parties in the FRG is essentially the same; see also p 50, where Uhlig writes that FRG politicians always speak with the reactions of voters in mind.
- 4 Bracher (1979:85) writes as follows on the power of propaganda:
Vor allem für Diktaturen, persönliche Willkürherrschaft und totalitäre Bewegungen gilt die Erfahrung, daß ihre Macht nicht zum geringsten auf der Anfälligkeit des Menschen für sprachlich geformte und verformte Ideen beruht, die sich als ein Verführungsnebel oder eine Zwangsjacke um sein Denk- und Aktionsvermögen legen; während er sich mit den großen Parolen identifiziert, wird er zur eigenen Freiheit unfähig gemacht.
On propaganda see also Glaser (1971:147); W Schneider (1976:115f). The titles of many works on propaganda and political language in general bear witness to the belief of their writers in the manipulative potential of language: examples include Klaus (1965): Die Macht des Wortes; Mackensen (1973): Verführung durch Sprache; Bergsdorf (1979): Wörter als Waffen. See also Sternberger et al (1968:10); Rucktäschel (1972:6); H Wagner (1981:62), where he cites Böll's statement that words can kill.
- 5 For discussions of these features, see for example the following: Dieckmann (1964); Dieckmann (1967:152, 162); Lübke (1967:358f) W Schmidt (1967); Hund (1968:484); Lasswell et al (1968); Reich (1968); K H Wagner (1968); Dieckmann (1969); Scherzberg (1969:511f); W Schmidt (1969a); Bochmann (1971); Leinfellner (1971); Uhlig (1972:87f, 181); Mann (1973); Mueller (1973:88, 91f); Bachem (1979:48, 54, 58, 62f).
- 6 Kolb (1960) and Sternberger et al (1968) are among those writers who wish to "protect" the language from corruption.
- 7 See for example Kolb (1960:176); Schumann (1966) discussing Dieckmann (1964) and Weinrich (1966); Hund (1968:478); von Polenz (1968:180f); Uhlig (1972:67); Höppner (1963:579f) defends the use of the noun + verb construction in the GDR, saying that it is a feature of scientific language, and not vague if properly explained.
- 8 See also the following quotation from Eigenwald (1972:102):
Wer politische, ökonomische, journalistische Texte

analysiert, kann mit gutem Recht mit der Sprache beginnen. Er tut dies mit dem Ziel, durch seine Analyse vielleicht auch andere aufmerksam zu machen. Mit dem Ziel, sie derart zu qualifizieren, daß sie ein wenig weniger Opfer von Überredungstechniken werden.

- 9 In the GDR at the present time there is much more uniformity of information than in the FRG, as a result of the control of the media by the SED and the banning of western printed materials from the access of the general public. The monopoly on information is not total, since FRG television can be received throughout the GDR, and alternative reports of events and alternative versions of reality are thus available. Marxists regard their virtual monopoly on information as a logical result of the correctness of the views of the SED and the futility of discussing different and thereby incorrect opinions. Western observers in contrast see the situation as a muzzling of the population by depriving them of information. In the FRG a much wider spectrum of views and types of information is generally available, and it is part of the fundamental philosophy of the state that there should be no monopoly on information and no sanctions imposed on people promulgating dissident views, unless these threaten the basic order of society (Grundgesetz, Article 5). Marxist writers believe that there is a capitalist monopoly on information in the west. Even if one accepts this it is still the case that the spread of views generally available is greater than that in the GDR. This is regarded by marxists as a feature of the general Perspektivlosigkeit of capitalist society, and part of the attempt by the ruling elite to keep the mass of the population acquiescent by limiting the information available to them and ensuring fulfillment of their material desires whilst denying them political enlightenment.

Dieckmann (1967:140) questions the effectiveness of the GDR monopoly on information on attitude-formation. On this issue see also Good (1975:10).

- 10 Foremost among the extralinguistic features which, in the view of many recent western writers, need to be taken into account in an analysis of language, is the social:

Da die Sprache nicht von ihren Trägern und damit den gesellschaftlichen Konditionen, in denen diese Träger existieren, zu trennen ist, muß auch die Sprachwissenschaft bestrebt sein, gesellschaftliche Realitäten und Konditionen bei der Untersuchung und Interpretation sprachlicher Fakten und Erscheinungen mitheranzuziehen. (Uhlig (1972:5); see also p 16f; Dieckmann (1964); Hund (1968:477); Zimmermann (1972:118); Mueller (1973:15f); Crystal (1977:196)).

This change in emphasis represents a move towards the position traditionally taken by marxist linguists who, as we have seen above, take the view that it is impossible to deal fully with linguistic utterances other than via an account of their socio-historical and political contexts.

- 11 W Schmidt (1971:308) states that each social class reacts differently and that it is impossible to make blanket statements; Scholwin (1971:318f) gives a critique of US semiotics;

- Schmidt and Harnisch (1972:76) emphasise the impossibility of transferring Morris's text-types to an ML context; on this issue see similarly Fleischer (1969:475).
- 12 Michel (1969:503) differentiates between the semantic, stylistic and pragmatic levels of language, exemplifying this with a discussion of the terms DDR, erster deutscher Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Staat, Ostzone, Mitteldeutschland, which he regards as synonymous on the denotative level, but not on the connotative/pragmatic level; see also p 505f.
 - 13 Dieckmann (1969:58f) makes use of W Schmidt's differentiation between lexikalische und aktuelle Bedeutung; Michel (1969:504) discusses and partly approves of Dieckmann (1964); S J Schmidt (1972a:82) discusses the influence of Peirce on socio-linguistics; Uhlig (1972:38f) takes some of his ideas from W Schmidt, and (p 44f) refers extensively to Helbig; see also Bachem (1979:45) on Klaus.
 - 14 See for example the following quotation:
Der entscheidende Unterschied zwischen sozialistischer Bewußtseinsbildung und monopolkapitalistischer Manipulation der Menschen mit Hilfe der Sprache besteht neben zahlreichen anderen . . . darin, daß die politisch-ideologische Einwirkung auf die Menschen im sozialistischen Staat in Übereinstimmung mit den objektiven Interessen und mit den objektiven Entwicklungsgesetzen der Gesellschaft vor sich geht, während sie im monopolkapitalistischen Staat im Dienste der Aufrechterhaltung einer überlebten und zum Untergang verurteilten Ordnung, im Interesse der zahlenmäßig sehr kleinen Klasse der Monopolbourgeoisie und ihrer Verbündeten, gegen das objektive Interesse der breiten Masse der Werktätigen und im Widerspruch zu den Gesetzen der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung erfolgt. (W Schmidt 1971:313); see similarly Höppner (1971:250-1))
 - 15 See also the following quotation from Griffin (1977:421):
Factors which influence learning from reading are classified as those inherent in the text - linguistic style, paragraph structure, abstract ideas, memory aids - and those inherent in the reader - organizing activities, interests, motivation etc.
 - 16 Henle (1958:127) points out Empson's use of the term "association" to mean "a merely private fancy"; this usage seems to be personal to Empson, and we do not employ it in this thesis.
 - 17 See Uhlig (1972:94) on "aggregated symbols", terms which are always either positive (soziale Marktwirtschaft in the FRG) or negative (Kommunismus in the FRG); the evaluative elements in such terms are very difficult to change or modify. See similarly Michel (1967:265), where he writes that the connotations of terms are relatively constant. See also W Schmidt (1969a: 465f, 470f); Keßler (1973:205); Hartung (1974:506); Bachem (1979:47).
 - 18 See also McNeill (1966:553):

Recall is not the process by which many responses in word association tests arise.

- 19 See also the following quotation:

Auf mehr Interesse als die sprachliche Gestaltung ist die Behandlung von bestimmten Themen wie zB der Frau, der Arbeitswelt usw. gestoßen. Wenn überhaupt die sprachliche Gestaltung Beachtung gefunden hat, so stand die Analyse unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Effektivität und der Verständlichkeit. (Horst Grobe, Oberstudiendirektor responsible for teacher-training in Hesse, personal communication, 20 04 80).

This statement is borne out by the following examples of work done in this field: Groeben (1972); Langer and Tausch (1972); Langer et al (1973); Schulz von Thun et al (1973); Langer et al (1974); Schulz von Thun (1974); Schulz von Thun et al (1974).

- 20 See for example Becker et al (1963:78) on the FRG presentation of Europe in the colonial period and afterwards; also ibid p 107, 172, 276; Hartung (1969:489) on the different evaluations of the terms Diktatur and Kommunist in capitalism and socialism; ibid p 490 on the FRG use of Mauer to distract attention from the Berlin Wall as a border between separate states; Hub and Lange (1974:13f) on the FRG use of Arbeiterklasse, Klassenkampf, Kapital, Revolution.

See also the following quotations:

. . . die irreführende Bezeichnung "Besiedlung" des deutschen Osten: Mit diesem Terminus sollen bei den Schülern von vornherein zwei falsche Vorstellungen erweckt werden: Zum ersten, daß es sich bei der Annexion des Landes östlich der Elbe-Saale-Linie um eine 'Rückgewinnung' alten deutschen Landes handelte, zum zweiten, daß dieses Land vor der Eroberung durch die Deutschen nur von wenigen, auf niedrigster Kulturstufe stehenden slawischen Stämmen bewohnt gewesen und erst von Deutschen "friedlich" und im weitesten Umfang "besiedelt" worden sei: (Sedmidubsky (1963:107-8);

Terror, Nötigung, Zwang, Drohung, Betrug, das sind die immer wieder benutzten Diffamierungsvokabeln

. . . Nirgends verzichtet man auf teils sehr eingehend und genüsslich ausgemalte Darstellungen der "Terror- und Zwangsmethoden" der SED. (Hub and Lange (1974:16); see also ibid, p 10)

- 21 On this issue see also Hartung (1974:248) where he writes as follows:

Zusammen mit den geistigen Grundoperationen . . . erwerben und üben Schüler (beim bewußten Erfassen von Kommunikationssituationen im Schulunterricht) bestimmte Verlaufsqualitäten der geistigen Tätigkeit . . . Alle diese und weitere Charakteristika und Bestandteile geistiger Fähigkeit gehen als allgemeine Elemente in das kommunikative Können eines Menschen ein . . . (see also ibid, p 56, 63)

With reference to the effects of language on adults, Kirchgäßner (1971:257) writes in a similarly general fashion:

Wenn das gesprochene oder geschriebene Wort Ausschnitte

aus unserer revolutionären Praxis wahrheitsgetreu und überzeugend widerspiegelt, dann vermag es den Menschen in rationaler, emotionaler und voluntativer Hinsicht günstig zu beeinflussen. Treffend gewählte Formulierungen . . . können die Arbeitsfreude des Produzenten steigern . . .

- 22 See also Eigenwald (1972), esp p 131f, on the terminology used in advertisements aimed at would-be managers.
- 23 Ausgangspunkt ist die Tatsache, daß in sprachlichen Kommunikationsvorgängen Wirkungsfaktoren eine Rolle spielen, die nicht mehr mit syntaktischen und semantischen Begriffen allein erklärbar sind. (Hartung (1969:493))
- 24 See also the following quotation from the SED:
Die "Ausprägung der sozialistischen Lebensweise", die "Entwicklung sozialistischer Persönlichkeiten", deren Beziehungen "in allen Lebenssphären . . . von gegenseitiger Achtung und Unterstützung geprägt werden", ist nicht ohne angemessene Gestaltung der sprachlich-kommunikativen Beziehungen möglich. (Programm der SED as dealt with at the 9th Party Congress in 1976, in Einheit 2, 1976, quoted by Fleischer (1977:2)). See also Fleischer (1977:4): Die erfolgreiche sprachliche Kommunikation verlangt . . . "überlegte", "wohldurchdachte" Textgestaltung.
- 25 This is exemplified in the following quotation:
An die Stelle der Bemühungen um die strenge Abgrenzung eines zentralen und autonomen Gegenstandes der Sprachtheorie ist die Suche nach möglichst vielen Bezugspunkten zu anderen Wissenschaften sowie ein wachsendes Interesse an bisher bewußt ausgeschlossenen oder vernachlässigten Fragestellungen getreten. (Motsch (1975), quoted in Fleischer (1977:1))
- 26 This is both the title of a chapter by Fowler and Kress in Fowler et al (1979), and also a general term used to refer to the work of the UEA linguists as a whole; it means that they see their work not just as a description of linguistic features, but beyond that as a means of evaluating utterances and attempting to provoke a change in the status quo by illuminating aspects of language use which are normally not made explicit.
- 27 We do not employ here the term "function" in the sense in which W Schmidt uses it, namely
die vom Sender bei der Kommunikation intendierte und in der Mehrzahl der Fälle auch erzielte Wirkung der Sprache auf den Empfänger. (W Schmidt (1969b:518))
- 28 The term "function" is possibly overused in linguistics, as Henle describes:
. . . We are employing the terms 'purpose', 'use', 'function', 'point' and 'intention' as synonymous, very much as Morris does. There is a second use of 'function' with which ours must not be confused, namely, that of linguists like Bloomfield, according

to which the positions in which a form appears are its functions, so that the form 'the man', for instance, has the functions "actor, goal, predicate noun," etc. Yet another usage of the terms 'function' and 'use' occurs in Ogden and Richards and many other writers, when they speak of the referential or symbolic use or function of language. (Henle (1958:136))

Halliday uses the term in all these senses in his writings; he uses the term "macro-functions" to refer to ideational, interpersonal and textual aspects of language, to stress that these are functions performed by the language itself, rather than uses to which language is put by speakers.

For other discussions of the term "function", see for example Henle (1958:121f, 135); Dieckmann (1969:26f, 30, 76f, 87); Ulshöfer (1971:105); S J Schmidt (1972a:89f); W Schmidt and Harnisch (1972:76, 78); Fowler (1974:248f); Hartung (1974:186); see also Halliday (1969:249) where he discusses the logical component of language usually classified as part of the ideational function.

- 29 There is a basic tripartite division of language functions and consequent text-types subscribed to by many workers in various branches of linguistic science. The distinction is typically drawn between the denotational text, which consists mainly of the presentation of facts; the self-expressive text, in which the sender presents his personal views of himself and the world; and the persuasive or receiver-oriented text, in which the sender attempts to evoke a specific response in the recipient. These text-types have been given various names. The following is a diagrammatic summary of some text-typologies; no attempt is made to be exhaustive, and the diagram is merely illustrative. The typologies listed here deal with the external features of texts, and so types such as "poetic", Reiß's formbetont, are left out of account.

	<u>Denotational</u>	<u>Self-Expressive</u>	<u>Persuasive</u>
Quintilian	Epideictic-Ceremonial	Forensic-Defensive	Deliberative-Persuasive
Bühler	Darstellung	Ausdruck	Appell
Hartmann	Representational	Expressive	Operative
S J Schmidt	Narrativ (Information-transfer)	expositorisch (Selbstdarstellung) (Partnerbezug)	Performativ (Lehre)
Austin	(Locutionary and Illocutionary Acts)		Perlocutionary Acts
Coseriu	Darstellend (Information)	Expressiv (Gefühlszustand d. Sprechers ausdrückend)	Appellativ (möchte best. Verhalten d. Hörers erreichen)
Jakobson	Context	Code	Contact

On Quintilian: see Hartmann (1980); see also Bühler (1934); S J Schmidt (1973); Austin (1975); on Coseriu: see Reiß (1977); on Jakobson: see House (1977).

Where writers perceive a binary division of text-types or functions, one of these normally pertains to receiver-response: thus S J Schmidt differentiates between Mitteilung and Wirkung (S J Schmidt (1974:39)); and Reiß between the informative and the operative text (see Reiß, 1976). Although Ogden and Richards discern five functions of language, they see these as serving two basic uses: "In the symbolic use of language, the essential considerations are the correctness of the symbolisation and the truth of the references; in the emotive-evocative use of language, the character of the attitude aroused in the addressees is of prime importance"(see House (1977:32)). Reiß, who is concerned to delimit the functions of texts as a prerequisite for adequate translation, discusses three attempts to categorise texts according to their subject-matter: Pucciarelli sees the three main types as scientific-technical, philosophical and literary; Ayala stresses that one must approach translation differently according to whether one is dealing with a mathematical treatise, a political speech, a comedy or a lyric poem; and Fedorov divides texts into news, documentary and scientific, socio-political, and literary (Reiß (1971:26-7)).

- 30 See Halliday (1978:4) on the dismissal of the ideal speaker-hearer of Katz and Fodor; *ibid* p 51 on the mentalist approach - Halliday believes that it was satisfactory for Lamb to use this approach, since it served his purposes, but it is not relevant to Halliday's analysis; see *ibid*, p 38 on the irrelevance of the competence/performance dichotomy. See also Halliday (1964:13, 16); Halliday (1970a:145); Halliday (1978:51f).
- 31 See Halliday (1978:5) where he lists those to whom he is indebted; see also Halliday (1975b) *passim*.
- 32 See Halliday (1967a:16f) for a discussion of Whorf; see also p 27, where Halliday writes as follows:
 . . . while recognizing, and striving to avoid, a sort of vulgarized Whorfianism (for which Whorf himself would not be to blame) whereby language is held to imprison the whole of one's thinking, we may nevertheless wish to enquire into language and man's view of society.
- 33 See Halliday (1978:214); however, Halliday stresses that the language itself is highly structured, and usage to children is normally grammatically correct: see Halliday (1978:54).
- 34 See also Halliday (1964:15) on actives and passives; and Halliday (1966a:64), where he states that the selection of a particular variable is not arbitrary; on voice, see Ziff (1966) *passim*.
- 35 See also Kress and Hodge (1979:81): ideology "acts unconsciously, at a level beneath critical awareness"; see also Kress and Trew (1978a:773); Bissieret (1979); Fowler et al (1979:95, 186).

- 36 Many writers take the view that non-ideological language is an impossibility, and that the language and the ideology are inextricably intertwined. This view is typical of, but not confined to, marxist writers, as discussed in an earlier section. See for example Schumann (1966:650); Hund (1968:482); Dieckmann (1969:26f); W Schmidt (1969a:461f, 468, 470f); Michel (1972:114f); Scholwin (1972) passim; Connolly (1974) preface; Good (1975: 26, 29); Fleischer (1977:4).
- 37 See also the following quotation from Schelsky (1979:17):
 . . . Herrschafts- und Klassenkampf finden in der Bundesrepublik heute sogar vorwiegend als Kampf um die Sprache statt.
 See also Bisseret (1979:186); Kress and Hodge (1979:65f); Fowler (1980:7); Bernstein (1981:339).
- 38 See also the following quotations:
 Our book was designed not as yet another academic study in sociolinguistics so much as a contribution to the unveiling of linguistic practices which are instruments in social inequality and the concealment of truth. (Fowler et al (1979:2));
 (Critical Linguistics) is a critique of the structures and goals of a society which has impregnated its language with social meanings many of which we regard as negative, dehumanizing and restrictive in their effects. (Fowler et al (1979:196))
 Pateman (1975) writes in a similar vein that people should become conscious of the language they use and challenge it where necessary, as a means of avoiding "reification or petrified consciousness": see Kochman (1978:112).
- 39 See also Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1971:106) for a summary of the effects of four types of transformation in English.
- 40 See for example Benes (1962); Benes (1968a); Kirkwood (1969); Kirkwood (1970a); Kirkwood (1970b); Benes (1971); on the work of the Prague School in general, see for example Vachek (1964); Vachek (1966).

PART III: THE ANALYSIS

In Parts I and II we have discussed aspects of the relationship between language and ideology, and research undertaken in various fields on this topic, and have demonstrated how the present thesis relates to this work. In Part III we now present a series of detailed analyses of the school textbooks in our corpus. In doing so we discuss examples of ambiguous or unclear language which we believe indicate areas of ideological uncertainty or obfuscation.

We begin by distinguishing between the two sets of texts on a conceptual basis, firstly by comparing and contrasting the contents pages of the books, with regard both to form and meaning, and secondly on the basis of terms from the word-field "work and working people" occurring in the body of the texts. The conclusions drawn in this section are reinforced by the following section, which distinguishes between the two sets of textbooks on a text-typological basis. We demonstrate how the differences between the education systems of the two German states discussed in Part I find expression in the language of the textbooks used in political education in schools.

We then present six sections of analysis of the texts themselves, dealing with them from the point of view of each of Halliday's three macro-functions of Transitivity, Mood and Theme, followed by a final section on Testability, which draws together insights gained in the previous sections and again links the nature of the texts to the ideological bases of the states in which they are used. In the course of the analyses we discuss a number of lexical, semantic and syntactic features which indicate areas of ideological debate or imprecision, and discuss the possible impact of these features on the readers of the texts.

We conclude that the relationship between language and ideology is a fruitful area for research, and that a Hallidayan model such as we employ in this thesis represents a viable linguistic tool for such an undertaking. We indicate areas in which further research needs to be carried out, including an analysis of the language used by school-children in the two German states when discussing political issues.

1 The conceptual basis of the two sets of texts

As a preliminary to the linguistic analyses of the two sets of texts we undertook what might be termed a "conceptual differentiation" on the basis of the content pages of the books. The purpose of this was to discover firstly the main topic areas dealt with in each of the two German states under the general heading of "political education", and secondly, what if any differences in emphasis and approach can be discerned at this level. We also looked at the average number of pages devoted to each topic, and the phrasing of the headings of the various sections and subsections. We discuss here briefly the results of this investigation, which are presented in tabular form at the end of this section.

1.1 Length of sections

We found that, with the exception of G&P, all the books contained basic information sections of between 2.1 and 3.3 pages in length on average (see table 1). This is clearly seen by pedagogues in both states as representing a reasonably detailed and relatively easily managed amount of information for young readers. The exception was G&P, with an average length of 4.9 pages per section. This difference is less great than at first appears, however, and it is not necessarily the case that the readers of G&P are expected to deal with virtually twice as much information per topic as are those of TP and the GDR texts. Whilst it is the case that G&P offers a greater amount of information per section than do the other books, the subdivisions within the various chapters are dealt with by means of a series of short extracts of text, rather than a single body of running text. For example, the section entitled Zur elterlichen Gewalt stretches over four pages (138-142) and contains only three separate paragraphs written by the authors of the book; the rest of this section is composed of approximately one side of questions and tasks, and a total of twenty-two short extracts from other sources, ranging from the Grundgesetz and the Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch to court decisions and paperback books. The reader is not necessarily expected to work through all of these illustrative texts, but rather the teacher can select the most suitable ones as a basis for class- or homework. The other textbooks are not constructed in this way.

1.2 Topic headings

We classified the headings and subheadings on the contents pages of the textbooks according to the type of lexical and syntactic features occurring. The results of this classification are presented in table 2; we discuss these results briefly here.

a) In the FRG texts the commonest construction was that of prenominal adjective+noun, closely followed by that of noun+postnominal adjective, which was in turn the commonest type of heading in the GDR texts. These two constructions are the most neutral way of naming or introducing a topic, in that no overt statements of judgement or evaluation are made. We discuss the issue of emotive and judgemental terminology in more detail in the section on text-typology.

b) The next most frequent construction in the FRG texts was that of a question; this type of heading does not occur in the GDR texts. Indirect questions, such as Was das Recht uns angeht do not occur in the GDR texts either, although they are fairly frequent in the FRG texts. This suggests that the readers of the GDR texts are not expected to ask questions, either as simple requests for initial information or as a part of a more detailed consideration of information offered, but, rather, simply to accept what is given. This supposition is borne out to a large degree by our discussion in a later section of the questions and tasks directed at the pupils in the GDR textbooks, and further confirms the belief that the GDR textbooks contain an essentially closed universe. Some of the indirect questions used as headings in the FRG texts contain unquestioned presuppositions; however, in the body of the text these are frequently foregrounded and discussed. We return to this issue of presupposition and problematisation in the section on testability.

c) There was almost three times as much personal reference in the FRG texts than in the GDR texts; within the GDR texts themselves the readers are only addressed directly once, at the beginning of book 7. It thus appears that the FRG texts take a more person-oriented approach to political education. We return to this issue in the section on questions and tasks below.

d) In the categories of definition, sentence and summary, which are

similar in form, the GDR texts contained slightly more of the first category and a considerable number in the third, which did not occur in the FRG texts, whilst the FRG texts contained considerably more headings in sentence-form. The total overall percentage of these types of headings in the two sets of texts was roughly similar. The use of statements and definitions in pedagogic texts is in itself unremarkable, but in the sections on cohesion and testability below we return to this type of construction in order to see whether there is any difference between the two sets of texts in the degree to which such constructions are open to scrutiny.

e) In the category nominalised verbs+genitive, there is no significant difference between the two sets of texts in the case of active constructions, ie where the genitive participant is the agent of the verb, as in das Entstehen der Arbeiterklasse. There were, however, considerably more passive versions of this construction in the GDR texts, ie the genitive participant is the entity affected by the nominalised process, as in die Errichtung der Diktatur; this, combined with the number of ambiguous occurrences of this construction, suggests that this could be a fruitful area for investigation, and we deal with this construction in more detail in the section on agency and initiation below.

f) The "parallelling" construction A als B is slightly more common in the GDR texts, whilst the FRG texts contain two examples of the disjunctive A oder B construction. Although the figures involved here are extremely small, they suggest that possibly the GDR texts present information more as a series of interconnected and coherent systems, whilst the FRG texts make more allowance for choice and differences. This issue is also dealt with in more detail in the sections on cohesion and testability below.

There were no major differences between the two sets of texts in the other categories listed.

In addition to the phrasing of the headings of the various sections and subsections, we also looked at the conceptual make-up of the textbooks as revealed in the referents of the main headings on the contents pages, which indicate the major subject areas that are to be dealt with.

In the six books we found thirty-one major topic areas, of which eight were common to both FRG and GDR, twelve exclusive to the FRG and eleven exclusive to the GDR. These can be tabulated as follows:

<u>FRG only</u>	<u>GDR only</u>	<u>FRG and GDR</u>
Bedürfnisse des Einzelnen	Du und Deine Zeit Geschichte der DDR DDR heute	Soziales und gesellschaftliches Leben Ost und West
Leben in Gruppen	Industrie	Wirtschaft
Freizeit	Landwirtschaft	Arbeit(er)
Kommunikation	Verfassung	Verwaltung
Zukunft	Stellung des Bürgers	Außenpolitik
Recht	Wehrpflicht	Jugend (1)
Europa 1945-heute	Sozialismus	
EWG	Kapitalismus	
Politik	Kommunismus	
Familie		
Minderheiten		
Gefahren für die Zukunft		

This shows those topics which are regarded as being worthy of a section to themselves. Some of the topics shown here as being exclusive to one or other set of texts are also dealt with in the other, but in less detail and less prominently. Similarly, many of the headings listed here overlap to a certain extent; for example, Recht, listed as FRG-only, is dealt with in the GDR books under Stellung des Bürgers, together with Pflichten des Bürgers and Frauengleichberechtigung. Only where the overlap in subject matter was virtually total did we count the topic as common to both sets of texts. The reasons for keeping to the headings used in the books are linguistic as well as thematic, in that we are interested both in the terminology employed and the collocations into which the various terms enter.

Under the heading soziales und gesellschaftliches Leben the GDR deals with the following topics, given in the form of subheadings on the contents pages:

soziale und kulturelle Errungenschaften der Werktätigen in der DDR; die Früchte der Arbeit kommen in der DDR allen Werktätigen zugute; zum Sozial- und Gesundheitswesen; Wissenschaft und Kultur für die Werktätigen (7/65-74); die Stellung und Mitverantwortung der Bürger in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft; das Recht, das politische, wirtschaftliche, soziale und kulturelle Leben umfassend mitzugestalten; Inhalt und Garantien des Rechts auf umfassende Mitbestimmung und Mitgestaltung (8/83-89).

Under the same heading the FRG texts deal with the following:

Gleichberechtigung und soziale Ungleichheit; die Sozialstruktur der BRD; Bildungssystem und Bildungschancen (this also has a section to itself); Sozialisation und

Familie; Sozialstruktur und Gesellschaftsbild; soziale Ungleichheit und sozialer Ausgleich (TP p 113-122); statistisches Material über die BRD; wie man unsere Gesellschaft versteht; was man von uns erwartet - was man uns gestattet; unsere Rollen heute und morgen; Jugendarbeitslosigkeit - ein neues Thema; Chancengleichheit - Bildungsgesellschaft; ein Teil unserer Gesellschaft - Randgruppen (G&P p 38-68).

The only subheading in common here is that of the family; in the GDR texts the emphasis is on the legal status of the family and the high esteem in which it is held, whilst in the FRG books the emphasis falls more on its role in the socialisation of young people. The other topics in the GDR books are factual, the first subheading being a statement of fact, and the rest non-finite phrases as key-word introductions to the text. All except the final one contain a conjunctive und, the nouns connected by it being regarded as similar and complementary. The subheadings in the FRG books, on the other hand, lay more stress on the problematic and contradictory nature of contemporary life: as well as presenting straightforward facts and figures about the constitutional foundation of life in society and how this appears in reality (Gleichberechtigung and statistische Materialien), they reflect in their syntax the view that there is more than one side to every issue, as in the disjunctive und in Gleichberechtigung und soziale Ungleichheit. The FRG books deal with topics which show up inadequacies in the social system, such as youth unemployment, inequality of opportunity etc; the headings in the GDR books do not mention any disadvantages or negative aspects of socialist society: as was demonstrated in Part I, this type of discussion is discouraged in the GDR. The heading was man von uns erwartet - was man uns gestattet in the FRG books is paralleled in the GDR books by phrases such as Das Recht auf Arbeit und die Pflicht zur Arbeit (8/90): in both cases people are permitted by some unmentioned agency to act in a particular way (gestattet, Rechte); however, the balancing Pflichten of the GDR books is more compelling than the FRG erwartet: there appears to be less freedom of choice envisaged at this level in the GDR texts, and the autonomy of the individual appears more restricted.

In the subject area Ost und West the GDR books have the following subheadings:

sozialistische DDR und imperialistische BRD - zwei Staaten mit gegensätzlicher Gesellschaftsordnung; DDR und BRD - Ausdruck zweier Klassenlinien in der Welt; die Entwicklung der BRD zum Stützpfeiler des Imperialismus und zur Speer-

spitze gegen den Sozialismus; das neue Kräfteverhältnis zwingt den Imperialismus zunehmend zur friedlichen Koexistenz; der grundsätzliche Unterschied in den Ergebnissen der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung der DDR und der BRD (7/75-90); die Durchsetzung der Politik der friedlichen Koexistenz in den Beziehungen zu den imperialistischen Ländern (8/55).

The corresponding FRG subheadings are as follows:

die politischen Systeme der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der DDR; unterschiedliche Auffassungen von Demokratie; repräsentative Demokratie in der Bundesrepublik; demokratischer Zentralismus in der DDR; Parteien und Verbände: Parteienpluralismus in der Bundesrepublik; die freiheitlich-demokratische Grundordnung; Verbände vertreten Interessen; der Einparteiensstaat der DDR; Parteiorgane; Machtkonzentration bei der Parteiführung; Wie wird der Staat regiert?: das parlamentarische Regierungssystem der Bundesrepublik; Kontrolle der Staatsgewalten; Aufgaben und Schwierigkeiten der Opposition; Volksparteien; föderalistischer Staatsaufbau; das Regierungssystem der DDR; die Organe des Staates; zentralistischer Staatsaufbau; Grundrechte: die Grundrechte in der Bundesrepublik; Grundrechte in der DDR (TP p 134-143).

G&P does not have any subheadings explicitly referring to east-west relations. The emotive and judgemental type of language discussed in Part I as typical of GDR texts is well illustrated here. As will be demonstrated in later sections, the fact that the FRG language appears to be impartial is not always a true reflection of the content of the texts.

1.3 Number of pages devoted to the home state and to other states

We noted the proportions of the textbooks which were devoted to the "home state", to other states, and to relations between the home state and other states, including the other German state, referring to the present and to the past. The results of this investigation are set out in table 3. We discuss these results briefly here.

The GDR books devote more space to their own political and economic system and their own state in general than do the FRG books; the difference in emphasis is even more marked when one takes into account the 34% of pages devoted to Socialism in the GDR books, which implicitly includes the GDR. The inclusion of these pages brings to over 75% the proportion of the books devoted to the GDR.

The single largest category discerned in the FRG books was termed "general", and accounted for 45% of the pages. Although some of this could be counted as "discussing one's own system", such as TP's Arbeit und Produktion, most of it is more general than this and applies to humankind as a whole, and often points explicitly to variations and differences between systems, such as TP's Warum unterschiedliche Staaten auch unterschiedliche Verhaltensweisen erwarten. This section is not a simple comparison of the FRG with other states and systems, but a more general and wide-ranging discussion.

The GDR books devote more space to the categories "other states", "home state and others" and "home state and the other German state" than do the FRG texts. The GDR texts tend to deal in more concrete terms with specific foreign countries, while the FRG texts prefer to generalise and discuss the underlying reasons for particular states of affairs, such as different types of social organisation, rather than going into very great detail about the organisation itself. The GDR texts would seem to be simpler to understand, since they are more straightforward, whilst the FRG texts appear more philosophical.

The GDR texts devote 4% of their pages to the relationship between the GDR and the FRG, whilst the FRG texts devote 2.4% to this topic. Both these figures are quite small, but it must be borne in mind that the GDR also devotes a great deal of space to capitalism in general, which implicitly includes the FRG. The FRG texts have a total of only four general references to socialism in the indices.

1.4 Conclusions

The following points emerge from the discussions:

- a) The GDR texts contain more emotive terminology than do the FRG texts, and devote a greater amount of space to details of the workings of their own political and economic systems and the superiority of these over capitalist/imperialist systems.
- b) The FRG texts appear to give the reader more freedom of interpretation of the material presented.
- c) The FRG texts appear to be more prepared to criticise shortcomings in their own political and economic systems than are the GDR texts.
- d) The FRG texts approach some topics from a more "social/individual"

point of view, whilst the GDR texts are more clearly "political".

e) Although the GDR texts tend to be descriptive rather than analytical, the descriptions offered contain value-judgements which the reader is not invited to discuss; this is less often the case with the FRG texts, where the topic-headings are more open-ended and conclusions not obviously reached in advance.

The analyses in the rest of Part III of the thesis deal with these points in greater detail, and demonstrate how the language of the textbooks reflects the respective conceptual frameworks of the two systems of political education, which are themselves expressions of the fundamental ideological positions of the two German states.

1.5 The concepts "work" and "working people" in the two sets of texts

After the attempt described above to differentiate on a general level between the conceptual bases of the two sets of texts, we looked more closely at the topic-area of "work" as dealt with in the texts in order to quantify the differences discovered above. The majority of the examples given in our analyses below in the body of the thesis are taken from this area, as we felt that it was necessary to limit the amount of material to be dealt with. Work, working people, unions and employers, whilst ideologically more central in the GDR than in the FRG, are key issues in both German states.

1.5.1 The FRG texts

The impression gained from the contents pages was that the FRG texts regard work largely as a simple necessity that enables one to finance the rest of one's life. This impression is strengthened by the title of Thema Politik chapter 3.2: Die Arbeit bestimmt die Freizeit. Choice of career is seen as depending on personal choice rather than any external considerations or pressures. The workers are seen as one group among many making up society; issues of social inequality are linked with education and the family, and are not "politicised" through discussions of class. The economy, and the work associated with it, are treated in a separate section in Thema Politik, as are the political system, administration and the law - work is by no means the central or

defining sphere of life. Taxes are dealt with in connection with administration, thus forming an indirect link between the workers and national finance, and again indirectly they are linked with overseas aid. On the topic of Arbeit und Produktion an explicit distinction is drawn between arbeiten - wofür? and produzieren - womit? The latter of these two issues clearly refers to concrete entities such as machines and factories; in the case of arbeiten it is not clear from the title whether this is also referring to the material sphere, or to more abstract concepts such as self-fulfilment or the realisation of a political ideal.

The rest of this section of the book deals with work at the level of the individual firm, the larger company, in connection with the problem of the power wielded by large companies, and with vocational training. Although clearly linked, these issues are not seen simply as facets of one central issue, but rather as separate entities, all of which together make up a society.

The first time Gesellschaft und Politik mentions work is in connection with lack of it, ie youth unemployment; having work is seen as the norm, and its purpose and justification are not discussed. Moreover, the authors claim that youth unemployment is more likely than a discussion of the moral value of work to interest young people on the point of leaving school and looking for their first jobs. The book starts with a topic with which its readers are likely to be able to identify in some way.

Three chapters later, there is the heading Im Mittelpunkt von allem steht die Wirtschaft, and under this heading the following topics are discussed: work and the economy in the past; the social market economy; the West German economic system; the link between economic and social power; worker co-determination in industry; relations between workers and employers; ownership; centrally planned economies; automation; and the move towards a post-industrial society. Here the economy as a whole is seen as the defining aspect of a society, and it is discussed in relation to past, present and future, together with the theory of the major prevailing systems and the problems and issues in the FRG's own system. This again is a very differentiated view - work and the workers are only indirectly discussed in areas other than the immediately industrial, ie they are seen only in relation to actual production on

the shop floor, and not in relation to theoretical economic arguments, which are presented as separate from them and their lives.

In other chapters, the book deals with the family as an economic unit, with the topics of free time, foreign workers, and Third World countries. Again, these form separate sections or chapters and are not linked in any obvious way, apart from their all being aspects of contemporary life in the FRG.

1.5.2 The GDR texts

In Staatsbürgerkunde 7, the workers first appear as part of the title of the GDR at its founding, the Workers' and Peasants' State. This is preceded by topics such as Die Gründung der SED and Die demokratische Bodenreform, which in the text are attributed to the politically active workers, the working class. The amount of attention given to the workers in the text is far in excess of that in the titles of chapters on the contents pages.

The next time the working class is mentioned is at the end of a section on Die DDR - unser sozialistisches Vaterland; here the working class is characterised as Hauptproduzent unseres gesellschaftlichen Reichtums. The rest of the section is devoted to industry in the GDR and the position of the GDR within Comecon. Since the workers are said to be the main producers of wealth, it is to be expected that they will receive considerable attention in the discussion of industry, but again, this is not made clear on the contents pages. The case is similar with the subsequent discussion of agriculture: the farmers are not mentioned in any of the titles and subtitles. Chapter 3 ends with a discussion of the social and cultural achievements of the workers in the GDR, in connection with the fact that the workers reap the benefits of their own work, discussions of the social and welfare systems, and education and culture for the workers. In the final chapter on the fundamental opposition of Socialism and Imperialism, the workers are again not mentioned, but in view of the central position in the economic and political systems accorded them earlier it is to be expected that they will occupy an important place in this discussion too.

Since the workers are mentioned so rarely on these contents pages, it

was not possible accurately to determine how they are conceived of and presented in the texts as a whole; it was therefore necessary to look in detail at the texts themselves as we discuss in the analyses in the rest of Part III.

In Staatsbürgerkunde 8, the first section deals with the achievements of the workers under the leadership of the working class and the ML party - the mass of the workers are seen as needing help and guidance in order to make progress. This is followed two sections later by Die führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft; these are the politically aware and organised workers, who in their turn are led by the ML party. This section leads into a discussion of the SED, its character and organisation. The working class is linked both with this political organisation, and with the farmers and other workers. This differentiation between the various groups of workers and the respective roles they play in society is taken up again in the sections on Classification, and Agency and Initiation below.

The title of a later chapter is Der sozialistische Staat - Herrschaftsinstrument der Werktätigen; the concept of power and the ruler is important throughout the texts, and here the workers are presented as having power. This does not coincide with what was said above about the leadership of the workers by the working class, and this problem of leadership and independent action is one that we investigate more closely below in the section on Agency and Initiation.

This section of the textbook is followed by a lengthy discussion of the GDR as a state, its domestic and foreign policies; we deal below with the relationships between the state, the workers and the working class.

The section on the rights and duties of a Socialist citizen does not explicitly mention the workers, and again it is not clear from the contents pages how closely the spheres of work and social/leisure life are identified. The final reference to workers in this book is in a discussion of worker co-determination and the rights of the unions.

Staatsbürgerkunde 9 begins with a discussion of the history of the ML movement, with Marx and Engels as the teachers of the working class: here again there is the distinction between the politically aware workers and the others. This is followed by the concept of the class-

struggle within Capitalism, and the move towards Socialism, this being led by the working class. There is then given a more detailed characterisation of the working class, with headings such as Die weltverändernde Rolle der Arbeiterklasse, Die Arbeiterklasse als stärkste und revolutionärste Klasse, Die historische Mission der Arbeiterklasse; the working class and its allies lead the class-struggle and progress towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, on both the national and the international levels. The language used here is much more emotive than that used in the FRG texts, and points to a fundamentally different attitude to the workers in the two ideologies (2). This is the first time that the socialist attitude has been fully revealed on these contents pages, and it indicates that the treatment in the texts will be very different from that of the FRG. The workers are not just one group among many, and work just one of the things they do, but their personalities and lives are much more closely identified with their economic and class position; this defines and determines all their actions, both at work, as political activists, and in their private lives. This contrasts greatly with the FRG approach discussed above.

In Staatsbürgerkunde 10, the workers are not mentioned by name for forty pages, but they are closely associated with Socialism and Communism, which are discussed here. The working class is first mentioned in connection with antimonopolistische Umgestaltungen in industrial capitalist countries where their function seems to be to subvert the prevailing system.

Within a detailed discussion of the economic development of the GDR and socialist methods of production, the workers are mentioned only in connection with the improvement of their working and living conditions, and then with the part they play in planning and directing the economy. It appears that industry and the economy are discussed largely as self-contained entities, without reference to the workers.

In another discussion of socialist society, the working class is shown as playing the leading role, itself again being guided by the ML party. It works in conjunction with the farmers, the socialist intelligentsia, and craftsmen and traders to develop the socialist state, which then becomes the main instrument of the working class in fully developing Socialism. The final section deals with socialist morality and philosophy, with details of ML thought and emphasis on the

importance of the socialist personality.

In conclusion, we can state that the titles of the various sections on the subject pages of the two sets of books reveal very different approaches to the workers: for the FRG they are one of many groups in society, all of which, including minorities and those with less power such as foreigners and women, deserve mention and consideration; for the GDR the workers are a major force for revolutionary changes in society. The number of times the workers are mentioned on the contents pages of the GDR books is relatively small, but an investigation of the texts shows this not to correspond with the actual amount of attention given to them: they are mentioned extremely frequently in connection with many aspects of life, both as Werkstätige and in their organised form as die Arbeiterklasse.

In the GDR books there is little appeal to the readers as persons - apart from such phrases as unser Staat and unser sozialistisches Vaterland there is little attempt to lead the pupils to identify with what they are reading; the discussion is theoretical and philosophical, sticking closely to the ML party doctrine and presenting all issues in terms of this. Topics do not appear to be problematised - there are no questions as the starting point for a discussion, as there are in the FRG texts, but the titles of the sections are simply set phrases from political and economic theory.

1.5.3 Key terms in the word-field "work and the workers"

In order to obtain more detailed information as to the treatment of the workers in the two sets of texts, a note was made of all sentences containing references to work and the workers; these included those containing words directly derived from Arbeit such as Arbeiter, Arbeiterklasse, Arbeitnehmer etc, as well as other words which could be regarded as belonging to the word-field "work", such as Werkstätige, Beschäftigte and so on. Approximately 1 150 FRG sentences and 1 750 GDR sentences were obtained in this way.

From the sentences thus obtained, an alphabetical list was drawn up of key words occurring in the sentences; in this way it was possible to determine the major areas into which the concept of work can be divided

in the two sets of texts. Key words include names for those employed, the employers, types of job, types of employing organisation, interest-groups such as unions and employers' federations; also issues intimately associated with the everyday life of the workers, such as wages, overtime, holidays, tax, social security, dismissal, unemployment, words associated with vocational training and apprenticeships, and the regulations concerning these. As well as life inside the individual firm, work is associated with the economy of the state as a whole, and so also included as key words were items such as democracy, peace, strike, profit, wage-agreements, and economic growth. The private side of life was also included with words dealing with the family, housing, consumerism, etc. In all, some 570 key words were noted, being mainly nouns, with a few verbs and adjectives. An overall list was drawn up of these items, noting whether they were used by FRG, GDR or both, with no reference to frequency. It was discovered that these words could be divided into the major conceptual areas dealt with below; these in turn were seen to relate mainly to the workers personally, either at work or - less often - in their private lives. Other categories referred to the extra-individual spheres of politics, national economics, administration and the law. A list was drawn up of the words occurring in each area. A similar investigation was subsequently carried out on the types of profession mentioned in the two sets of texts. In both this "professional" and the general list, the FRG texts had a greater number of types; since there were more sentences from the GDR texts, this would point to a greater degree of lexical repetition in the GDR texts. (For details of terms, see tables 4 and 4A).

The following is a discussion of the implications of the differences that were discerned in the words included in the various categories in the two sets of texts.

ai) General terms: Here, as elsewhere, there is a greater variety in the FRG terms; they cover not only work itself, but also include Beruf, Erwerb, and Wirtschaft, none of which appear in the GDR texts. These include only Arbeitshände which is not used in the FRG texts; it is a somewhat sentimental usage, standing for Arbeiter.

Another emotive word occurring in this category is Ausbeutung, which occurs in both sets of texts. At this stage it is not practical to investigate all the contexts in which the key words occur, but it should be noted that both sides are aware that work is not always

simply a "necessary evil" or part of a "historic mission", but that it can cause great hardship and suffering.

Most of the words in this category are largely static, being mainly nominalised verbs. The FRG texts contain two slang expressions for work, which occur in a discussion of attitudes to work in various social groups; on no occasion is there any similarly flippant reference to work in the GDR texts; it is always presented as serious and honourable.

ii) Particular terms: here the FRG terms are formed from the roots arbeit-, Beruf-, Dienst-, Erwerb- and Werk; the GDR has only arbeit-, Werk- and Produktion. Despite the greater variety of terms in the FRG column, several of them seem largely synonymous (Arbeitsstätte, Arbeitsstelle, Dienststelle, Stelle).

Both sets of texts use both concrete and abstract terms to refer to places, social organisations and technical processes. At this level of abstraction, it is difficult to discern clear conceptual differences between the two sets of texts.

b) Status of workers

i) General: most of the FRG words seem concerned with whether the workers are free or not. They appear mainly not to be: abhängig, unselbständig, betriebsangehörig. In the context of the western economic system these words are used largely uncritically - it is an accepted and unquestioned fact that most workers work for someone else, thus losing one aspect of their freedom. The GDR has no words of this kind (except possibly Beschäftigte), and all the words it uses are in common with those of the FRG. The workers are seen largely as "doers", either through nominalised verbs such as Arbeiter, or through "active" adjectivals such as Berufstätige.

Both sets deal with foreigners and women as separate groups within the overall workforce; this could be a tacit admission that the theoretical equality accorded to these groups within society is not true in reality - if it were, there would be no need to treat them separately.

In summary: the impression gained from this section is that the FRG tends to regard the workers as slightly more passive than does the GDR, but on the whole the treatment is very similar.

ii) Particular: Of the three words unique to the GDR, two are very

general, referring to workers as a group (Arbeitermassen, Produktionsarbeiter), and the third (Arbeiterkontrollleur) refers to the status of one worker in relation to others. The FRG has more of these "rank"-type words, which show that there is a hierarchy within the firm and that everybody is not on the same level. All these different grades, however, combine successfully to form the homogeneous Belegschaft, Personal and Team. The GDR does not place so much emphasis on grading workers, apart from mentioning Facharbeiter and Spezialist, which are grades to be striven for as a mark of personal achievement, rather than of social status.

The FRG sees the workers also very much as passive receivers of wages; the GDR's Produktionsarbeiter depicts them as active and adding to the stock of manufactured goods. The FRG does refer to the workers as Produktivkräfte, but this "active" word seems to be outweighed by the view of the workers as takers or receivers rather than givers or doers, although like the GDR the FRG uses the term Lohnarbeiter.

The FRG can refer to its own workers as Arbeitsburschen, thus acknowledging again that the situation is not ideal; the GDR never does this in relation to its own system, although it too has many criticisms of the western system. The FRG also describes the workers in negative terms, ie in terms of what they have not got: Nicht-Eigentümer.

The words that the two sets of texts have in common relate to the type of employment, terms used to refer to one's fellow workers, and the degree of training or skill. Beamte can exist only in the FRG, but all the other words are used in both systems. In this context as in most others, the GDR pays much more attention to the FRG and its system than the FRG does to the GDR, and in accordance with the doctrine of Parteilichkeit is extremely critical of the capitalist way of life.

c) Economic

The general term Wirtschaftswachstum is used by the FRG, and links the workers with the national economy as a whole. The GDR term Arbeitsproduktivität could also refer to industry in general, or to the performance of an individual firm. Both these terms are closely linked with those in the category "financial" (see below) but these latter tend to refer to a level somewhat more personal than that of the economy as a whole or even that of a whole firm. The impression gained

from the contents pages of the books was that the GDR was more likely to identify the achievements of the workers with progress in the economy generally than was the FRG, which tends to regard work as distinct; the present category would seem to contradict this impression, but since Wirtschaftswachstum was recorded only twice and Arbeitsproduktivität and its derivatives a total of eight times, it is unlikely that these two words will alter the overall picture.

d) Social security

- i) General: Much more detail is given in the FRG words, since this whole area is seen as more complex and differentiated: not only does sickness insurance exist, but it is divided up according to whether one became ill as a result of an accident, whether one is a permanent invalid as a result of it, and so on. The GDR uses only the more general term. The other GDR words are similarly general, including all the aspects mentioned by the FRG but not specifying them (3).
- ii) Particular: Similar comments apply here to those in the general section. There are more details in the FRG texts of the contexts in which social security is payable, and the workers are insured against bad times as well as old age.

e) Political

- i) General: This is one of the few areas where the vocabulary in the GDR texts is more varied than that of the FRG texts. The terms used by the GDR are somewhat more emotive than the FRG ones: Arbeiterbefreiung, Macht, Mission; they have a more "important" ring to them than words such as Arbeiterverband or Arbeitergruppe used by the FRG. Certain of the words used by the GDR also have military connotations: Brigade, Bündnis, Frieden, Kampf. This is clearly a reflection of the ML view of life as a struggle between the classes, but the amount of attention paid to it suggests that, even in the GDR, the struggle is far from over and the ideas have to be kept alive by constant repetition.
- ii) Particular: Only the GDR has any words in this category, and they apply both to the level of the individual firm as well as of the economy as a whole; the workers are intimately involved in events on both these levels, which, as we have seen, is not the case with the FRG texts.

f) Employers

- i) General: Of the four words in this category, three of them appear

in both sets of texts; the exception is Vermögensbesitzer, which is used only by the FRG. Neither this nor any of the other words seem particularly emotive in the context of the FRG texts, but all three words used by the GDR would be expected to have pejorative connotations: Eigentümer were seen as the enemy of the workers and had all their property confiscated after the war, Unternehmer are another example of the exploitative nature of the capitalist system, and Arbeitgeber is a feature of the Partnerschaftsdenken of the FRG which is in complete opposition to the GDR doctrine of Klassenkampf. Again it is worthy of note how much attention the GDR gives to the western system.

ii) Particular: Again, Fabrikbesitzer are a thing of the past in the GDR, but are still discussed to show the corrupt nature of the FRG. In the context of the FRG texts, this term and the others are emotively neutral. The FRG sees the employers as actually running their firms - Betriebsführung, Betriebsleitung - as well as simply owning them. The use of the suffix -ung makes them appear more as an institution defined only by its function, rather than as people: they are not individualised.

g) Social:

It was not possible to divide this section up into "general" and "particular", since most of the terms it contains can apply both to society as a whole as well as individuals; for instance, the terms Miete and Urlaub, both of which occur in both sets of texts, can occur in general discussions in relation to the cost of living and the need for relaxation, as well as in the context of individuals paying for accommodation or going on holiday. For this reason, all the words were grouped together, but it is not only as a result of this that this is the largest group of words for both sets of texts. Included in this section are words dealing with class relations, domestic issues, social groups such as the young, the old and foreigners, and work in as far as it affects private life: Kurzarbeit, Arbeitslosigkeit, etc.

As in other cases, the words used by the GDR seem more abstract and theoretical; several of them are important concepts within the ML philosophy and could just as easily be placed in the category "political", eg Übergang, Mission. Other words such as Bedürfnis, Kultur, Lebensniveau are less "concrete" than FRG terms such as Arbeiterkinder, Rentner, Unterbeschäftigung. It is not being suggested that this division is absolute - there are many theoretical terms such as soziale

Schicht, Interessen, Pflicht, which are used in both sets of texts, but the tendency indicated here coincides with the observation made above that the GDR texts tend to deal with issues on a less personal basis than the FRG, and that much of their discussion is couched in the terminology of the ML tradition.

It may be significant that the GDR does not deal with old people and pensioners in this category. It deals with all those social groups that are capable of work, such as the young, the intelligentsia, including those that are unable to fulfil themselves through work for one reason or another - negroes, the unemployed, but not with those whose working life is over. This is not to suggest that no provision is made for old people in the GDR, but simply that they are not seen as important in the context of work, even though they are former workers themselves.

h) Administrative

- i) General: Again, the FRG words are much more detailed; the GDR mentions only Verwaltung, and that only once. The FRG deals in some detail with the workings of labour administration, from the rather faceless Arbeitsbehörden to the Arbeitsamt where one comes into contact with the authorities. Interestingly, this is one of the relatively few contexts where the FRG deals in any depth with the workings of the GDR system; included in this category is Planstelle, which refers to the centrally planned economy. The GDR does not mention the western system.
- ii) Particular: This section contains only FRG words; the GDR does not discuss the administration of the individual plant or firm at all. Obviously the FRG writers consider this aspect of the running of firms as important and worthy of discussion; the reason for the lack of attention paid to it by the GDR could be linked with the kind of professions mentioned by them (see below); the jobs mentioned in the GDR texts seem to be largely technical and scientific, and it could be the case that in their efforts to lessen the prestige-gap between physical and mental work, not only has the former been greatly upgraded, but the latter has been devalued to a possibly greater extent, with the result that the work done in a firm to produce goods etc has become the only important thing, while the white-collar work associated with it is secondary and often carried out by the workers themselves in addition to their own work in the works planning committees and so on.

j) Physical

i) General: The GDR uses only positive words here; the FRG deals with both these and physical incapacity, including, in the "particular" column, illness caused by work itself. The GDR does not mention that working can damage one's health. All the words are fairly abstract, referring to a quality of the workers; it is not possible to say without resort to context whether one side takes a more personal approach than the other.

k) Financial

i) General: The FRG pays more attention to the personal income of the workers: there are five different words referring to this that are unique to the FRG and another five that are used in common with the GDR. The FRG also mentions three words referring to the increasing of workers' capital by various means; the GDR does not deal with this, since it is not part of the socialist system, and they do not mention the practice in relation to the FRG. Many of the words used by the GDR are again used negatively of the western system, eg Krise, Inflation, Profit. Few of the GDR words refer to their workers on a personal level; the financial gain from work, while necessary to maintain a certain living standard, is seen as ultimately less important than the moral gain of working for the advance of Socialism and the betterment of mankind.

ii) Particular: Again, the FRG words are much more differentiated; finance is dealt with at the level of the firm as well as of the individual, and the individual's wages are described in various ways, depending on the aspect under which they are being regarded. The GDR refers to them only as Reallohn, which is implicitly contrasted with Nominallohn - the GDR is concerned to emphasise that there is a discrepancy between what people are said to earn, and how much they actually have to spend.

l) Educational

i) General: As in many other places, the FRG terminology is more varied; eg apprenticeships are seen from the point of view of the law, the employer and the apprentice, in both the present and the past. Also as in other contexts, the GDR goes beyond the immediate situation of the workers and associates them with what would in a western system be termed political changes (Schulreform, cf elsewhere Bodenreform). The workers appear as the moving force behind these reforms, which they

helped to carry out with the aid of "their" political party. The FRG does not see the workers as a political force in this way, working to change the structure of society, but as one of many groups making up society as it is; there is no feeling of impending fundamental change. A major problem with regard to the GDR is how far the workers are really seen as the driving force, and how far they are the instrument or tool of the Party. There is also the problem of how far the GDR will countenance change which does not accord with that foreseen in the central plan.

ii) Particular: The comments made above on the more differentiated view taken by the FRG also apply here. The GDR does not deal with worker education at all on the level of the individual firm, thus confirming the impression mentioned above that the GDR tends on the whole to deal with things in abstract or theoretical terms rather than on the personal level.

m) "Two sides of industry"

i) General: The terms used here by the FRG show a picture of different groups with different interests striving to reach agreement: Verhandlung, Partnerschaft. The "two sides" issue does not exist for the GDR itself, since the workers are said to own the means of production themselves and are thus effectively their own employers. The GDR is very scathing about the FRG's idea of Partnerschaft; for the GDR, the western system is made up of irreconcilable opposites engaged in constant struggle, which will finally be resolved with the victory of socialist ideals and the end of the class society. This difference in the views of the two states is also reflected in the Particular category here: again there are lots of FRG words, most of them conciliatory, suggesting that the differences and the struggle between the two sides of industry are acknowledged, but that the will is there to overcome these. Apart from Betriebsfrieden discussed above, the GDR has only Streik; only through direct challenge and confrontation can there be any hope for the workers in capitalist society - it is significant that strikes and other forms of industrial unrest are not discussed in the context of the GDR itself, but only with reference to the West.

n) Commercial

i) General: Both sets of texts contain fairly general words such as Ware and Großindustrie, as well as those unique to each system: Markt is used only by the FRG to describe its own economic system, and only

the GDR describes it as made up of Monopole. Nachfrage is not used by the GDR since it is not an important force in a planned economy; the nearest approach to it would be the needs of the workers which have to be satisfied, but these are nearly always described as geistig-kulturell rather than materiell.

Konkurrenz is used neutrally/positively by the FRG to refer to its own system, but it is extremely pejorative when used by the GDR about capitalism. Competition within the socialist economy is referred to exclusively as Wettbewerb.

ii) Particular: Here the GDR uses only the very general word Handel; the FRG words are slightly more detailed than this, naming some of the basic necessities that a firm in the FRG must have if it is to stay in business. Again, these are irrelevant to a planned economy.

p) Legal

The only word unique to the GDR here is Jugendgesetz, which plays much the same role in the GDR system as does the Jugendarbeitsschutzgesetz in the FRG. Recht and Arbeitsrecht are fairly broad terms, positive in each set of texts. The GDR also uses Tarifvertrag to refer to a feature of the western system, but this is done quite neutrally and without criticism. Most of the FRG terms are also general, but there are more words in each area mentioned - eg there are both Ausbildungsberechtigung and Ausbildungsvertrag, both Lehrverhältnis and Lehrvertrag. The complexity of these concepts is reflected in the variety of language used to deal with them from various points of view.

Most of the main areas in this category are dealt with in both sets of texts; the only one that is not mentioned by the GDR but that is present in the FRG texts is Streikrecht: the attitude to strikes, like that to trade unions in general, is very different in the GDR; workers are not expected to strike to gain their rights, since they already in theory own everything in the country and can do with it as they like.

q) Psychological

Only the GDR has any words in this category; the only time the FRG texts mention the individual's attitude to work at all is in the discussion of the career hopes of people leaving school (TP, p 78-9), and - implicitly - in the discussion of work on the production line (TP, p 70-1). In the latter context, problems are not discussed openly,

but are present none the less in the mention of the very small space in which the workers have to operate and the speed at which they have to work. There is mention made of changes that have been made in the factory, but it is not admitted openly that this was a result of worker boredom. Generally the FRG texts take it for granted that people are content with the work they do and the conditions under which they do it. The GDR accords this area of work a great deal of attention, however, and here as elsewhere the emphasis is on the correct attitude to work as part of the socialist way of life. It is not enough that one simply works, even if the quality of the work is satisfactory; one must approach work in the correct frame of mind, not just as a means of making money, this being the prevailing attitude in the capitalist system, but as a way of changing the world and speeding the advent of Socialism.

r) Organisational

This section is another of the few where the GDR shows more lexical variation than the FRG. Intensivierung is an important concept in both industry and agriculture - the aim is to produce as much as possible from as little as possible as economically as possible, and the workers are continually exhorted to make their contribution to this. Socialist Rationalisierung is part of this process, and is good and desirable; when Rationalisierung is applied to the FRG, however, it is extremely pejorative, since it is said usually to include the loss of jobs as workers are replaced by machines. The word is used neutrally by the FRG of itself. Similarly, Maschinen and Automation are neutral/positive when applied by each of the states to its own system, but have negative overtones when applied by the GDR to the FRG.

Wissenschaft und Technik is another key term in the GDR vocabulary; it is the way of ensuring successful progress towards Socialism, as the move is made from a largely agricultural to an industrial society. The advance of science in the GDR does not result in redundancies, since these do not exist as such in the socialist system; moreover, since there is still a labour shortage in the GDR, mechanisation may simply improve conditions without reducing the workforce. Scientific and technical improvement is extremely important in the GDR, and children are encouraged to study practical and technical subjects so that they will be able to contribute to it.

s) Type of organisation

Many of the words here that are unique to each set of texts refer to types of organisation that only exist in that state: eg only the FRG mentions Aktiengesellschaft. Similarly, Genossenschaft, Kombinat, VEB, VEG, VVB are used only by the GDR texts and exist only in that state. There is some overlap in the use of this type of terminology - both sides refer to LPG in the GDR, and words such as Fabrik and Betrieb are common to both sets. The FRG differentiates more between the sizes of enterprises, since these can have an effect on the way they are run, but in general there is little comparative comment one can make on this section at this level of abstraction.

t) Engagement of workers

This section is closely related to "psychological". Apart from Disziplin, which is a quality to be developed in apprentices (G&P, p 50), all the FRG words refer to the strike situation. All the other words refer to people who do not wish to strike; the words are used fairly neutrally, although there could be some pejorative overtones in the word Streikbrecher. These words show that the workers, including those organised into unions, are not regarded as a homogeneous mass, but that there are differences and dissent among them.

The GDR also refers once to Streikbrecher in the western system as something that the honourable workers refused to become. The other words used only by the GDR refer to the exemplary workers at home. There are frequent biographical details of Aktivisten or Neuerer, such as Adolf Hennecke. At this level there is some individualisation, but the individuals dealt with are exceptional, not typical, and the aim of mentioning them is to try to make other people strive to be extraordinary and to make excellence the norm. The FRG does not have "heroes" like these - people simply do a job. This attitude is similar to the one revealed in the fact that the FRG does not have any words referring to the workers' psychological attitude to work - it is not of any particular importance.

u) Type of job

Again the FRG terms are much more differentiated, this section not containing any terms unique to the GDR. However, all the terms mentioned are very general, and at this level of abstraction there is little that can be said about fundamental differences between them.

v) Worker-representation

The FRG texts contain nearly twice as many words in this category as do the GDR ones: 9:5. Worker-representation is a very topical subject in the FRG, with changes and reforms being aimed for, and it merits much discussion. In the GDR it is the theoretical starting-point of the economy, a sine qua non of Socialism, and so less emphasis is given to it. The GDR texts quote the two central FRG terms Mitbestimmung and Mitwirkung, mainly in order to deny that they really represent any move towards industrial democracy, but otherwise the GDR words are extremely general. The emphasis of these general terms is on solidarity and unified action - this is related to the concept of the class-struggle. Again, as in the section on the two sides of industry, the FRG words place more emphasis on conciliation and compromise; the terms refer to the level of worker organisation, as well as the level of codetermination. The picture is not quite uniform, however, as the use of Forderung shows that there are forces within industry that state their desires unequivocally and do not want compromise. We demonstrate in later sections that the presentation of more than one attitude to an issue, without showing a definite preference for any of the points of view put forward, is typical of the whole FRG approach in these texts.

w) Nature of work

The FRG words Sonntagsarbeit, Nachtarbeit and Überstunden refer to when and how long the workers are at work; these words occur in discussions of the effect such "institutions" as working unsocial hours can have on people - here again the social/personal side of work is emphasised. The other main aspect covered by the FRG words is the need for economy, time-saving, Arbeitsteilung etc. The GDR does not go into this kind of detail, making no reference to the effects of work on the personal lives of its own workers; Arbeitshetze and Überstunden(unwesen) are used to refer only to the western system and the sufferings of workers there. Schichtarbeit is used neutrally of the Socialist system, and Spezialisierung is a positive term in both sets of texts.

x) Purpose of work

The extremely general word Arbeitsaufgabe occurs only once in the FRG texts, and is not really worthy of discussion. The GDR term Aufbau is much more important and all-embracing; the development of industry

is related to the overall development of Socialism and the move towards Communism. This progress is intimately connected with work, since without industrial progress there can be no political progress.

y) Conditions at work

Both sets of terms here deal with the length of time spent at work. The GDR concentrates on the situation as it is at present and the improvements that have recently been made in the lot of the workers in the GDR; the FRG gives more historical perspective, with accounts of nineteenth century factories, and the fact that there was an average working week of forty-five hours in the Middle Ages. Again as elsewhere the FRG texts give a larger and more differentiated perspective on the issue than do the GDR ones.

z) Personal/Professional

There are more terms here used by the FRG than by the GDR: personal choice and wishes play a much larger part in the choice of a career and the route it takes in the FRG than in the GDR, where general economic needs have to be taken into account. Only the FRG texts deal with the issues of Fremdbestimmung and Selbstbestimmung; the GDR term Selbstverwaltung would possibly be better placed in the category "political", since it refers to self-determination on a local governmental level. Both sets of texts refer to help on the individual level through Berufsberatung, the GDR doing this mainly for young people, the FRG working through the Arbeitsämter for all workers. Despite this one term, the FRG still has an almost exclusive claim to personal treatment of its workers.

A') Free time

Here the GDR mentions only the general words Freizeit and Urlaub, while the FRG uses Feiertage and Urlaubszeit too; the FRG concept seems to be definable as "the time when there is no work", ie work determines one's free time to a large extent. Both Freizeit and Urlaub are used more often by the FRG than by the GDR (14:2 and 19:11 occurrences respectively); this greater frequency could reflect the greater importance accorded to free time by the FRG, although this would not correspond with the comment made above that work also defines free time, ie that work is the more important activity.

The two states have very different fundamental concepts of what free

time should be and what it should be used for. The FRG texts provide a chart showing what various people from different areas of life do in their spare time, the aim of this being to show that one can do virtually whatever one wishes (TP, p 52). The GDR view of free time is that it should be much more structured and organised - people can still choose what they want to do, but their choice is circumscribed by what is officially approved as free time activities, eg people are expected to do voluntary overtime at work, to help out old people and invalids in their neighbourhood, to take part in organised youth activities etc. No details are given of how far these expectations are fulfilled.

B') Overseas

Both sets of texts refer to aid given to Third World countries by the developed industrial nations, but use very different terminology and reveal very different attitudes to it. The FRG refers to Entwicklungsländer and -hilfe, while the GDR talks of proletarischer Internationalismus. The FRG seems to keep a distance between itself and the foreign countries, simply giving aid, while the GDR shows Solidarität with the workers abroad, and includes several pictures of GDR people working abroad. However, although the GDR tries to show that its aid is much better and more personal than that of the FRG, both sets of texts place greater emphasis on the motives of the helpers and their attitudes than on the personal feelings of the people being helped. Both sides admit that less is done than could be to help Third World countries, but again the GDR tends to see this in rather philosophical terms, as the fault of "imperialist neo-colonialism", while the FRG again remains on the more individual level, as in its discussion of the problems of local sandal-makers when development helpers built a shoe-factory.

1.5.4 Conclusions

1) The FRG tends to give more than one point of view on an issue, whilst the GDR is more unilateral. This is related to the concept of Parteilichkeit.

2) In connection with the above: the FRG texts tend to be more detailed, and to problematise issues more; they illustrate the belief that there is more than one way of looking at most issues, and do not present cut and dried solutions to problems.

- 3) The FRG tends to deal with issues on a more personal or individual level, while the GDR remains on a higher level of philosophical abstraction.
- 4) The GDR politicises many issues which the FRG does not, and again looks at macro- rather than micro-structures. The GDR texts give examples to illustrate philosophical/political points, whilst the FRG seems to approach the subject from the opposite direction and give more anecdotal accounts of events, from which the pupils are encouraged to draw their own conclusions.
- 5) The GDR pays much more attention to the FRG than vice versa - it seems to feel a greater need to convince the readers of the rightness of what it is saying by showing how bad the opposing system is. The FRG either does not have this need, or refrains from drawing explicit conclusions about the GDR because of the need to remain impartial.
- 6) The GDR takes a more moralistic view of many issues than does the FRG; work becomes a crusade for the good of the state, one's responsibilities as a citizen assume almost religious proportions, and one's attitude is continually checked for its degree of ideological conviction.

1.6 Jobs/professions mentioned in the texts

The list that was drawn up of jobs (see table 5) included all those that were mentioned in the texts. Relatively few of them were dealt with in any detail, most of them occurring in discussions of career choices in the FRG texts, or in the course of general discussions on work in the GDR texts. The aim of drawing up this list was to see what careers were considered worthy of mention in the two sets of texts, and which main categories they belonged to.

On the basis of the list of jobs the following categories were seen to occur in both sets of texts:

	<u>FRG</u>	<u>FRG&GDR</u>	<u>GDR</u>	<u>FRG total</u>	<u>GDR total</u>	<u>FRG%</u>	<u>GDR%</u>
Manual	24	17	11	41	28	41	56
Technical	22	11	11	33	22	33	44
Scientific	7	4	3	11	7	11	14
Artistic	6	1	3	7	4	7	8
Craft	3	3	1	6	4	6	8

The percentage figures are not absolute, since some jobs were placed in more than one category, eg Agronom was both scientific and technical, and Automechaniker was both manual and technical.

The jobs in the above categories account for all those that were mentioned only in the GDR texts; of these, the most important categories can be seen to be scientific, technical and manual. This accords with our statement above that science and technology are regarded as being the key to a successful future, and that manual work has been "upgraded" in terms of prestige; the GDR texts do not contain any mention of white-collar jobs such as clerks or administrators.

Of the terms not included in the above categorisation, those that are mentioned in both sets of texts include the following that could be classified as "professional": Abgeordnete, Polizist, Soldat. These are important jobs in any society, and do not merit any special discussion. The remaining terms in this column are Dienstbote, Ungelernte and Student, none of which can be easily categorised. They do not occur very frequently, and can be disregarded.

The "FRG only" terms not included in the above scheme include those that can be classified as follows:

Commercial: 6

Office: 3

Domestic: 4

Professional: 3

In conclusion: the majority of jobs mentioned in both sets of texts fall into the categories "manual" and "technical"; these are followed by "scientific". This does not necessarily mean that these are the most prestigious jobs, but the frequency with which they are mentioned would suggest that they are the type which are regarded as fundamental to both economies. The greater percentage occupied by these jobs in the GDR texts is paralleled by the greater variety of categories in the FRG texts. Again, this shows a more differentiated view of the world of work on the part of the FRG: they have a greater overall number of jobs, and these fall into more categories than the GDR ones. This may be related to the fact, discussed above, that in the FRG personal wishes play a greater part in the choice of careers than they do in the GDR, where national economic needs are also taken into account,

and there are certain types of job which are regarded as most important to the economy and which thus receive the greatest number of new recruits.

As in the case of the overall discussion of work, then, the general conclusion that can be drawn here is that the FRG takes a more differentiated and less strictly codified view of the world of work and the people engaged in it.

Table 1: Subdivisions within the two sets of books

Book	Number of pages	Number of chapters	Av pages/ chapter	Subsections/ chapter	Subsub- sections	Subsubsub- sections	Total subdivisions	Pages/sub- division
GDR 7	90	4	22.5	4.5	4.25	0	32	2.8
GDR 8	114	3	40	3.7	10.3	7.5	35	3.3
GDR 9	89	2	45	2.5	11	9.5	36	2.5
GDR 10	117	4	44	3.5	17.5	0	70	2.5
TP	171	16	10.7	5.125	0	0	82	2.1
G&P	302	11	27.4	5.6	0	0	62	4.9

Note: figures given are the average number of each particular type of division within divisions of the next highest category.

Table 2: Phrasing of topic-headings

	<u>FRG</u>		<u>GDR</u>	
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total
<u>Type of heading</u>				
(Adjective +) noun	40	23.8	17	7.7
Noun + qualifying (adjectival) phrase	33	19.6	113	51.4
Head + relative clause	4	2.4	0	0
Question	26	15.5	0	0
Indirect question	12	7.1	0	0
Personal refer- ence: <u>wir</u> , <u>unser</u> , etc	22	13.1	11	5
Sentence	19	11.3	5	2.3
Noun + qualifying phrase as definition	12	7.1	21	9.5
Summary	0	0	22	10
Nominalised verb + genitive:				
i active	4	2.4	2	0.9
ii receptive	1	0.6	21	9.5
iii ambiguous	1	0.6	8	3.6
"Parallel":				
<u>A als B</u>	5	3	11	5
<u>A oder B</u>	2	2	0	0
Time phrase	4	2.4	2	0.9
Prepositional phrase	6	3.6	5	2.3
Non-finite clause	2	2	0	0
Total number of headings	FRG:168		GDR:220	

(Note: these figures are approximate: there is some overlap between categories and so some headings were counted more than once; the totals amount to more than 100% for the same reason).

Table 3: Proportion of texts devoted to the home state and other states

	<u>FRG</u>	<u>GDR</u>
general: present	205 pages	10 pages
past	6	0
total	211 = 45%	10 = 2.3%
home state: present	167	146
past	15	31
future	0 (implicit only)	5
total	182 = 40%	182 = 41.3%
other states: present	27	52
past	3	0
total	30 = 6.5%	52 = 12%
home state and others: present	31	27
future	0	3
total	31 = 6.5%	30 = 6.8%
home state and other German state	11 = 2.4%	17 = 4%
Socialism	0	152 = 34.4%
total present	94%	91%
total past	6%	7%
total future	0	2%

(Note: the above figures are approximate; since there are overlaps between some categories the total figures do not add up to precisely 100%).

Table 4: Main conceptual areas in which "work and the workers" are discussed

Type of term	FRG only	FRG & GDR	GDR only
a1 General	14	5	1
ii Relating to internal organisation of place of work	11	4	4
b Status of workers (i) general	5	9	0
(ii) particular to one place of work	12	9	3
c Economic terms - general	1	0	1
d Social security (i) general	10	3	1
(ii) particular	5	0	0
e Political (i) general	3	10	21
(ii) particular	0	0	2
f Terms relating to employers (i) general	1	3	0
(ii) particular	2	1	0
g Social - general	22	24	10
h Administrative (i) general	8	1	0
(ii) particular	4	0	0
j Physical (i) general	2	2	1
(ii) particular	2	0	0
k Financial (i) general	11	16	7
(ii) particular	8	2	0
l Educational (i) general	25	10	2
(ii) particular	4	0	0
m "Two sides of industry" (i) general	4	0	1
(ii) particular	8	1	1
n Commercial (i) general	3	4	3
(ii) particular	2	1	0
p Legal	9	3	1
q Psychological	0	0	8
r Organisational	0	3	2
s Type of organisation	10	10	6
t Engagement of workers (see also Psychological)	2	2	2
u Type of job	5	3	0
v Worker-representation	6	3	2
w Nature of work	9	3	1
x Purpose of work	1	0	1
y Conditions at work	6	5	0
z Personal/professional	5	1	1
A' Free time	2	2	0
B' Overseas	1	0	1

Table 4A

Main areas under which "Work" and "The workers" are discussed

	<u>FRG-texts only</u>	<u>Both FRG and GDR-texts</u>	<u>GDR-texts only</u>
ai)	<u>General terms</u>		
	Arbeitsexistenz	arbeiten	Arbeitshände
	Arbeitsleben	Ausbeutung	
	Arbeitsmöglichkeit	Beschäftigung	
	Berufsleben	Produktion	
	Berufspraxis	produzieren	
	Berufsstruktur		
	Beschäftigungs- möglichkeit		
	Erwerbsleben		
	Erwerbstätigkeit		
	schaften		
	wirtschaftliche		
	Tätigkeit		
	Wirtschaftsbereich		
	Wirtschaftsleben		
	zu tun haben		
aii)	<u>Terms relating to internal organisation of place of work</u>		
	Arbeitsmittel	Arbeitsorganisation	Arbeitsmethode
	Arbeitsplatz	Arbeitsprozeß	Arbeitsrhythmus
	Arbeitsstätte	Werk	Arbeitsgegenstand
	Arbeitsstelle	Werkstatt	Produktionsanlage
	Arbeitsvorgang		
	Berufsleben		
	Berufspraxis		
	Berufsstruktur		
	Dienststelle		
	Erwerbsleben		
	Stelle		
b)	<u>Status of workers</u>		
i)	<u>General terms</u>		
	abhängig	Arbeitnehmer	
	Beschäftigungsgruppe	Arbeitskraft	
	Betriebsangehörige	ausländische	
	selbständig	Arbeiter	
	unselbständig	Berufstätige	
		berufstätige Frauen	
		Berufstätigkeit	
		Beschäftigte	
		Erwerbstätige	
		Werkstätige	
ii)	<u>Particular to one place of work</u>		
	Arbeitsbursche	Angestellte	Arbeitermassen
	Belegschaft	Arbeiter	Arbeiterkontrolleur
	Fachmann	Beamte	Produktionsarbeiter
	Geselle	Facharbeiter	

	Lohnempfänger Lohn- und Gehalts- empfänger Nicht-Eigentümer Personal Verdiener Verdienende Vorarbeiter Vorgesetzter	Kollege Lohnarbeiter Mitarbeiter Produktivkräfte Spezialist	
c)	<u>Economic terms</u>		
i)	<u>General</u>		
	Wirtschaftswachstum		
ii)	<u>Particular</u>		
	Arbeitsproduk- tivität		
d)	<u>Social Security</u>		
i)	<u>General terms</u>		
	Altersrente Arbeitslosengeld Arbeitslosenhilfe Arbeitslosenver- sicherung Invalidenrente Pension Rente Rentenversicherung Unfallversicherung Versicherungsleistung	Krankenversicherung soziale Leistungen Sozialversicherung	Arbeiterversorgung
ii)	<u>Particular</u>		
	Betriebsrente Kündigungsfrist Kündigungsschutz Kurzarbeitergeld Schlechtwettergeld		
e)	<u>Political</u>		
i)	<u>General</u>		
	Arbeiterverband Lohn- und Gehalts- politik Aussperrung	Arbeiterbewegung Arbeitergruppe Arbeiterklasse Arbeiterpartei Arbeitskampf Demokratie Kapitalismus Sozialismus Klassenkampf Kommunismus	Arbeiterbefreiung Arbeiterdemonstration Arbeiterführer Arbeiterpresse Arbeitervereinigung Arbeiterversammlung Arbeitsniederlegung Brigade Bündnis Frieden

friedliche Koexistenz
 Ideologie
 Internationalismus
 Kampf
 Leitung und Planung
 Macht
 Mission
 Plan
 SED
 Verteidigung
 Zentralismus

ii) Particular

Betriebsbesetzung
 Bodenreform

f) Terms relating to employers

i) General

Vermögensbesitzer	Arbeitgeber
	Eigentümer
	Unternehmer

ii) Particular

Betriebsführung	Fabrikbesitzer
Betriebsleitung	

g) Social

i) General

Arbeiterkinder	Arbeiterfamilie	Bedürfnis
Arbeiterwohlfahrt	Arbeitslose	Industriegesellschaft
Arbeitnehmerhaushalt	Arbeitslosenquote	Intelligenz
Arbeitsende	Arbeitslosigkeit	Kultur
Arbeitssuchende	Bourgeoisie	Lebensniveau
Beschäftigungsstruktur	Herrschaft	Mission
Elend	Interessen	Opfer
Erwerbslosigkeit	Jugendarbeitslosigkeit	Übergang v. Kap. z. Soz.
Erwerbsquote	Jugendliche	Unterdrückung
Fremdarbeiter	Kapitalisten	Wohnung
Gastarbeiter	Kinderarbeit	
Großfamilie	Konsum(tion)	
Kapitaleigner	Kurzarbeit	
Lebenshaltung	Miete	
Oberschicht	Mittelschicht	
Rentner	Neger	
soziale Schicht	Pflicht	
Unterbeschäftigung	Privateigentum	
Unterschicht	Proletariat	
Vollbeschäftigung	Proletarier	
Zwangslage	Solidarität	
Mieter	Urlaub	
	Lebensbedingungen/standard	

h)	<u>Administrative</u>		
i)	<u>General</u>		
	Arbeitsamt	Verwaltung	
	Arbeitsbehörden		
	Arbeitserlaubnis		
	Arbeitsvermittlung		
	Handwerkskammer		
	Industrie- und Handelskammer		
	Kernberuf		
	Planstelle		
ii)	<u>Particular</u>		
	Aktionär		
	Arbeiterrat		
	Aufsichtsrat		
	Betriebsrat		
j)	<u>Physical</u>		
i)	<u>General</u>		
	Berufsunfähigkeit	Arbeitskraft	Arbeitsfähigkeit
	Erwerbsunfähigkeit	Arbeitsleistung	
ii)	<u>Particular</u>		
	Berufskrankheit		
	erwerbsfähig		
k)	<u>Financial</u>		
i)	<u>General</u>		
	Arbeitsentgelt	Arbeitslohn	Großverdiener
	Arbeitsverdienst	Bank	Krise
	Entlohnung	Einkommen	Lohnquote
	Gehalt	Einkommensgruppe	Lohntarif
	Geld	Gewinn	Lohn- und Einkommenssteuer
	Konkurs	Inflation	Mehrarbeit
	Produktivvermögen	Investition	Mehrwert
	Sparen	Kapital	
	Verdienst	Lohn	
	Vermögensbildung	Lohn- und Gehaltssteigerung	
	Zulage	Preis	
		Profit	
		Steuer	
		Vergütung	
		Vermögensverteilung	
		Volkseinkommen	
ii)	<u>Particular</u>		
	Betriebsgewinn	Ertrag	
	Bruttolohn	Reallohn	

ii) Particular

Betriebsvereinbarung Streik
Lohnkampf
Lohnverhandlung
Schlichtung
Tarifkonflikt
Tarifpartei
Tarifpartner
Tarifrunde

Betriebsfrieden

n) Commercial

i) General

gewerbliche und
industrielle
Produktion
Markt
Nachfrage

Großindustrie
Industrie
Konkurrenz
Ware

Industriezweig
Monopol
Wettbewerb

ii) Particular

Absatz
Angebot und Nach-
frage

Handel

It was not possible to divide the following groups of words into "general" and "particular"; they have been divided and classified simply according to which set(s) of texts they are used in.

p) Legal

Arbeitsförderungs-
gesetz
Arbeitsgericht
Arbeitsschutz
Ausbildungsberech-
tigung
Ausbildungsvertrag
Jugendarbeitsschutz-
gesetz
Lehrverhältnis
Lehrvertrag
Streikrecht

Arbeitsrecht
Recht
Tarifvertrag

Jugendgesetz

q) Psychological

Arbeitsfreude
Bewußtsein
Denken
Moral
Parteilichkeit
Persönlichkeit
Verantwortung
Weltanschauung

r)	<u>Organisational</u>	Automation Maschinen Rationalisierung	Intensivierung Wissenschaft und Technik
s)	<u>Type of Organisation</u>		
	Aktiengesellschaft	Betrieb	Genossenschaft
	Arbeitskollektiv	Dienstleistung	Industriebetrieb
	Ausbildungsbetrieb	Fabrik	Kombinat
	Firma	Großbetrieb	VEB
	Gemeinschaftsunter- nehmen	Handwerk	VEG
	Geschäft	Kollektiv	VVB
	Großunternehmen	Konzern	
	Handwerksbetrieb	Landwirtschaft	
	Kleinbetrieb	LPG	
	Mittelbetrieb	Unternehmen	
t)	<u>Engagement of workers (cf psychological)</u>		
	Arbeitswillige	Disziplin	Aktivist
	Streikunwillige	Streikbrecher	Neuerer
u)	<u>Type of job</u>		
	Ausbildungsberuf	Anlernberuf	
	Berufsfunktion	Beruf	
	Lebensberuf	Berufsgruppe	
	Lehrberuf		
	Tätigkeitsfeld		
v)	<u>Worker-representation</u>		
	Arbeiterausschuß	Gewerkschaften	Arbeitereinheit
	Arbeitnehmerver- treter	Mitbestimmung	Gemeinschaft
	Belegschaftsver- tretung	Mitwirkung	
	Beteiligung		
	Forderung		
	Gewinnbeteiligung		
w)	<u>Nature of work</u>		
	arbeitsintensiv	Schichtarbeit	Arbeitssetze
	arbeitssparend	Spezialisierung	
	Arbeitsteilung	Überstunden	
	Erwerbsarbeit		
	Fließband		
	Nachtarbeit		
	Lohnarbeit		
	Sonntagsarbeit		
	überwachen		
x)	<u>Purpose of work</u>		
	Arbeitsaufgabe		Aufbau

y) Conditions at work

Arbeitsstunden	Arbeitstag
Arbeitswoche	Arbeitszeit
Pause	5-Tage-Woche
16-Stunden-Tag	8-Stunden-Tag
18-Stunden-Tag	40-Stunden-Woche
45-Stunden-Woche	

z) Personal/Professional

berufliche Möglich- keiten	Berufsberatung	Selbstverwaltung
Berufsweg		
Berufswünsche		
Fremdbestimmung		
Selbstbestimmung		

A') Free Time

Feiertage	Freizeit
Urlaubszeit	Urlaub

B') Overseas

Entwicklungsländer	Internationalismus
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Table 5: Jobs/professions mentioned in the texts

FRG only	FRG only (contd)	FRG & GDR	GDR only
<p>Akademiker Automechaniker "Babysitter" Baumeister Beherbergungsgewerbe Büroberuf Chemiewerk Dachdecker Drogist Eisen & Stahl Elektroinstallateur elektro-technischer Beruf freier Beruf Funker Gastronomie Goldschmied Gummiarbeiter Handlanger Hausfrau Hilfsarbeiter Journalist Juwelier Kaufleute kaufmännische Angestellte kaufmännische Lehre Kellner "Kinder mädchen" Kioskhändler Kleinhändler Kraftfahrer "Küchenmagd" Kundenberater Lackierer Landwirt "Laufbursche"</p>	<p>Leitstandfahrer Maler Malermeister Maurer Mechaniker medizinischer Assistent metallverarbeitender Beruf Montanindustrie Oberstudientätin Papierfabrik pflegerischer Beruf Politiker Professor Putzfrau Radiomechaniker Reparaturfachleute Richter Säckeschlepper Sandalenmacher Schichtmeister Schmied Schneider Schuhfabrik Sekretärin Spekulant Stenotypistin Steuermann Straßenfeger Tabakbauer technische Beruf Werbung Werkzeugmacher Wirtschaftswissenschaftler Zahnmediziner Zahntechniker (70)</p>	<p>Abgeordnete Anlernberuf Arzt Bäcker Bauer Bergbau Dienstbote Druckarbeiter Elektriker Elektroindustrie Forstwirtschaft Gewerbetreibende Handwerker Industriearbeiter Ingenieur Knecht Landarbeiter Lehrer Pächter Polizist Schlosser Schriftsteller Schweißer Skolaven Soldat Student Techniker Ungelernte Verleger Wissenschaftler (30)</p>	<p>Agronom Bauarbeit Eisenbahn Filmindustrie Dreherin Friseur Geologe Konstrukteur Kranführer Künstler Maschinenschlosser Meister Metallindustrie Rohrleger Schuster Textilwerker Transportarbeiter Verkehr, Post, Fern- meldewesen Werft Zootechniker (20)</p> <p>FRG total: 100 GDR total: 50</p>

Notes

- 1 This compares with the following listed by Nitzschke as typical contents of FRG textbooks in the early 1960s:
Mensch, Familie, Gemeinde und Kreis, Land, Bundesrepublik, internationale Politik, dazu Verbände und Verbandstätigkeit, Kirchen, Parteien und Rechtsfragen. Darstellungen der Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft sind auch regelmäßig zu finden. Nationalsozialismus und Kommunismus sind zumindest als Schaubild häufig . . . (Nitzschke (1966:248-9).
It appears from this that the topics dealt with have remained much the same, but the emphasis placed on the different areas has changed.
- 2 Official GDR documents describe work as follows:
Die Arbeit ist nicht mehr nur ein Mittel zur Gewinnung des Lebensunterhaltes. Sie verwandelt sich von einer Last zu einer Sache der Ehre, zu einer inneren Befriedigung durch die Möglichkeit schöpferischer Entfaltung aller Fähigkeiten. Sie wird in wachsendem Maße zu einem selbstverständlichen Bedürfnis des Menschen. (Verfassung der DDR (1969:67), quoted in FES: Recht auf Arbeit (1979:22))
This contrasts markedly with the attitude to work in the FRG, in which state the right to work is not enshrined in the Constitution - see *ibid*, p 25-39. See Höppner (1963:584) for a general discussion of the history and development of the term Arbeit.
- 3 For a brief account of the GDR's einheitliche Sozialversicherung see FES: Recht auf Arbeit (1979:16).

2 A text-typological account of the two sets of texts

In this section we demonstrate how the differences between the systems of political education in the two German states, which we discussed in Part I, are reflected in the language of the textbooks used in schools. We show firstly that the role of the textbooks within the education systems, and features of the education systems themselves, affect those aspects of the text which Halliday terms "field", "tenor" and "mode", and that these differences are likely to be most clearly discerned in differences in the interpersonal and textual components of the texts. We then investigate these differences in more detail within the framework of text-typology as developed by Katharina Reiß. Reiß' text types are broadly comparable to Halliday's linguistic macro-functions, and our discussion of the two sets of school textbooks in terms of Reiß' typology confirms that there are major differences in the language of the textbooks, corresponding to their different functions. At the end of this section we present a short case-study, comparing extracts from the two sets of texts to illustrate the text-typological differences between them.

2.1 Halliday's field, tenor and mode

On the basis of our discussion above of the situations occupied in the two German states by the teacher, the pupils and the textbook, we can differentiate clearly between the two sets of texts in terms of Halliday's "semiotic structure of the situation" (Halliday (1977: 100)). This consists of three elements, namely field, tenor and mode, which together make up the register. Halliday defines them as follows:

field: the social action: that which is "going on", and has recognisable meaning in the social system; typically a complex of acts in some ordered configuration and in which the text is playing some part; and including "subject matter" as one special aspect;

tenor: the role structure: the cluster of socially meaningful participant relationships; both permanent attributes of the participants and role relationships that are specific to the situation, including the speech roles, those that come into being through the exchange of verbal meanings;

mode: the symbolic organisation: the particular status that is assigned to the text within the situation; its function in relation to the social action and the role structure, including the channel or medium, and the

rhetorical mode. (Halliday (1977:200-1))

The texts with which we are dealing have broadly similar fields in each state, namely a lesson in a school classroom dealing with political subjects; the lessons are organised in a similar way and with comparable aims in view, and regard the textbook as an important tool in the realisation of that aim.

The tenor and the mode, on the other hand, exhibit fundamental differences. In the case of tenor, the role relationships between pupils and teacher are, as we have demonstrated earlier, very different in the two states: in the GDR the teacher is a more authoritarian figure less open to questioning and criticism than is the case in the FRG, where the pupils are not expected necessarily to adopt the political views of the teacher. Similarly, in the case of mode, we have shown in Part I that the status of the textbook is very different in the two states: in the GDR it contains information that is intended for acceptance and absorption, whilst in the FRG the information provided is intended to be rather "food for thought" than a prescription for future beliefs and actions (1).

These differences alert us to the likelihood that, whilst the function of the two sets of texts as a Textsorte is similar, namely to socialise young people into the political system and ensure their continued loyalty to and participation in it, the contrasting status of the participants - including here the textbook - in the context of situation (which is itself an expression of the differing political systems involved) will be revealed also in the linguistic form of the texts (2).

The differences between the systems of political education in the two German states centre on the issue of Parteilichkeit, with regard to the behaviour expected of pupils and teachers vis à vis each other, and also with regard firstly to the type of information provided in the textbook, and secondly to the attitudes that pupils and teacher are expected to adopt towards this information. The differing degree of Parteilichkeit in the texts results in different text-types within the overall Textsorte of "school text-book".

Halliday writes that the three elements in the context of situation

tend to determine the selection of options in a corresponding element of the semantics. In the typical instance, the field determines the selection of experiential meanings, the tenor that of interpersonal meanings, and the mode that of textual meanings (Halliday (1977:201); also Halliday (1975a:132)). It is thus likely that the differences we have discerned in two of the three situational elements will be reflected linguistically by means of differences in the interpersonal and textual components of language, "the systems of mood, modality, person, key, intensity, evaluation, comment and the like" and options of "theme, information, voice and cohesive patterns" respectively (Halliday (1977:202)). Our investigations below of modality, cohesion and causality deal with these differences in detail.

A preliminary general investigation was undertaken of the two sets of texts on a text-typological basis, in order to attempt a quantification of the differences posited here, and to provide a foundation for the subsequent analyses of specific linguistic features. This investigation was carried out on the basis of work carried out by Katharina Reiß in the field of text typology for application in translation science. This was done for the reason that Reiß' descriptions of operative and informative texts, which we discuss in more detail shortly, discuss many of the features we had noted in preliminary work with the school textbooks, both from the point of view of the aim of the text, and of the linguistic form of it. Moreover, Reiß' informative and operative text-types parallel on the level of the text Halliday's ideational and interpersonal linguistic macro-functions, in the sense that the informative text and the ideational function both relate to extra-linguistic reality and its transmission by means of language, whilst the operative text and the interpersonal function are more concerned with the effect of a message on the receiver of that message and any subsequent activity, physical or psychological, on the part of the receiver resulting from the message. We have indicated above the likelihood that the two sets of texts will differ with regard to the interpersonal component of language as a result of the differing tenors of them; the work done on the basis of Reiß' text-typology described below confirms that the interpersonal component/mood is one of the major areas in which differences between language use in FRG and GDR are to be found.

2.2 Reiß' text-typology

Reiß bases her typology on that of Bühler:

Nach Karl Bühler . . . ist Sprache gleichzeitig Darstellung, Ausdruck und Appell. Je nach dem Übergewicht der einen oder der anderen Funktion der Sprache in einem Text lassen sich demnach drei Grundtypen unterscheiden: "inhaltsbetonte", "formbetonte" und "effektbetonte" Texte (selbstverständlich gibt es in der Praxis zahlreiche Überschneidungen und Mischformen). (Reiß (1968:139))

Reiß emphasises that text-type depends not just on the content of the texts, but rather on their function and use (Reiß (1971:26f)); she classifies Unterrichtswerke as "inhaltsbetonte" or informative texts, together with

Nachrichten, Dokumente, Sachprosa aller Art, geisteswissenschaftliche, naturwissenschaftliche und technische Fachtexte. (Reiß (1968:139))

Typical "effektbetonte" or operative texts include advertising texts, speeches or rhetorical texts, stage plays and religious/missionary texts (3). The "formbetont" or expressive text-type includes mainly artistic and literary texts which are

doppelt strukturiert: einmal auf der syntaktisch-semantischen Ebene und zum zweiten auf der Ebene der künstlerischen Organisation. (Reiß (1977:98); see also Reiß (1971:25))

We do not discuss this text-type in any more detail here.

2.2.1 The informative text

Reiß characterises the informative text as being one where

... . der Sender sein Augenmerk auf einen Redegegenstand richtet, wobei er durchaus auch einen am Redegegenstand interessierten (auf Information bedachten) Empfänger im Auge behält. Unter diesen Vorbedingungen bestimmt dann der Redegegenstand die Textgestaltung . . . Bei diesem "Information" vermittelnden und somit vom Redegegenstand geprägten Text wird in erster Linie die Verstandessphäre angesprochen. (Reiß (1976:12-13); see also Reiß (1977:98))

This definition clearly applies to school textbooks, a major aim of which is to impart new knowledge to the pupils. Reiß stresses that informative texts aim the content specifically at the reader: both sets of school books are written in a style that is accessible to young readers. To this extent both sets of texts can thus be assigned to the category "informative". However, Reiß goes on to state the

following about pedagogic texts:

Bei Nachrichten, Unterrichtswerken, Warenlisten u.ä. dürfte die Zuordnung zum inhaltsbetonten Typ ohne weiteres einleuchten; sie sind doch mehr oder weniger anonym und im allgemeinen lediglich nach dem Gesichtspunkt verfaßt, schnell, korrekt und umfassend zu informieren oder über einen Gegenstand zu belehren. (Reiß (1971:35))

Both the FRG and the GDR texts under discussion in the present thesis are "more or less anonymous" in the sense that the authors do not attempt to present their personal views or to use idiosyncratic style etc. However, the degree of anonymity of the authors is different: it is much greater in the case of the GDR books, in that the authors are not individuals but a collective under the leadership of one person, and their names are listed inside the flyleaf of each book; nowhere in the books do they address the reader directly or personally in connection with the book as such. In the case of many FRG books on the other hand the names of the author(s) are displayed prominently on the cover, and the books contain a foreword addressed directly to the readers by the authors on the topic of the book itself, its contents and purpose.

The text-books differ similarly with regard to the aim of "korrekt und umfassend zu informieren". We have discussed in earlier sections, and demonstrate further in the analyses below, that the definitions of "correctness" vary radically between the two German states: the GDR takes the view that ML is by definition correct and any other standpoint at best mistaken and at worst deliberately manipulative, whilst the FRG is more reluctant to label any specific view as "correct", but emphasises that time and circumstances dictate what is most suitable in each case.

We are aware that politics textbooks may be untypical of the Textsorte "pedagogic text", in that they deal with more abstract issues than, say, chemistry or geography, but the fact that even at this very general level it is difficult to describe the FRG and the GDR books in the same terms confirms our belief that we are dealing with different text-types. We demonstrate below how this is discernible in the form of the language used in those texts.

2.2.2 The operative text

For Reiß the defining characteristic of an operative text is the effect

it has on the receiver, rather than the information contained in it:

Der operative Text wird konzipiert, um einen Textempfänger . . . in seiner Meinung zu beeinflussen und in seinem Verhalten zu Aktionen oder Reaktionen zu provozieren. Der Text spricht dabei in erster Linie nicht den Intellekt an . . . Vielmehr wirkt er vor allem auf die Willenskraft und die Gefühle ein. (Reiß (1976:35); see also Reiß (1971:44f))

The school textbooks from both FRG and GDR can be regarded to a degree as "missionarische Texte", which for Reiß include the Bible and other religious texts which seek to convert the receiver to a particular belief:

Auch profane Texte gehören hierher, sofern sie den Zweck verfolgen, eine Ideologie zu propagieren und Proselyten für sie zu gewinnen. (Reiß (1971:46))

This applies to both sets of texts, as we have discussed in an earlier section.

With specific reference to propaganda texts Reiß writes:

Es handelt sich um politische "Werbung", die zu dem Zweck verbalisiert wird, Meinungen zu beeinflussen und dem Textempfänger Willensentscheidungen abzuverlangen . . . In Propagandatekten (tritt) die "Mitteilung" so weit hinter dem Appell zurück, daß dessen Dominanz zum Kriterium eines - gleichberechtigten - Texttyps wird. (Reiß (1976:36, 43); see also Reiß (1971:46); Mackensen (1973), esp part III)

Up to a point both the FRG and the GDR texts can be regarded as propaganda as defined by Reiß, in that they both aim to socialise the pupils into the prevailing social system and to ensure that they behave in a socially acceptable way, thus ensuring the continued existence of their respective societies.

Reiß states that the object of propaganda is a political topic, demgegenüber der Textempfänger die Wahl der Zustimmung oder Ablehnung hat, (Reiß (1976:44))

and the text attempts to persuade the receiver to adopt a particular attitude. This is true of the GDR texts, which explicitly call for an acceptance of socialism and rejection of capitalism. The situation is less straightforward with the FRG texts: while they also aim to produce in the pupils a particular state of mind, ie one that accepts the concept of pluralism and the basic doctrine of impartiality, there is less emphasis on emotion either with regard to concepts which are presented in a basically positive light, such as Mitbestimmung, or those which are seen as negative, such as Arbeitslosigkeit. Topics are to be considered from more than one point of view, and the books dis-

courage excessive emphasis on subjective criteria.

We are also unable to accept Reiß' definition of propaganda as immediately applicable to the present sets of texts, in that these are directed not at adults, as Reiß assumes will be the case, but at school-children who do not yet have a coherent picture of the world or definite reasoned loyalties to particular political groups. The purpose of the texts is thus not only to encourage the readers to make the "right" decisions, as is that of pure propaganda (see Part II), but they also have to describe and explain the whole macro-situation in which these decisions are to be made. The pupils cannot be said to have a real choice between acceptance and rejection until they know the facts, and these can only be acquired by reading the texts.

The first part of Dieckmann's claim that

Propaganda bezieht sich auf Umstrittenes und zielt auf
Meinungsänderung (Dieckmann (1969:38), quoted in Reiß (1976:
44))

is true of the FRG texts, which always present more than one attitude to an issue; however, the desired opinion is not prescribed but left largely to the individual (4). The GDR texts in contrast normally present issues from only one point of view. Occasionally they present topics as "umstritten", as in a discussion of the difference between industrial concentration in socialism and capitalism; the aim of this, nonetheless, is not to allow the pupils to make up their own minds, but to show them that the socialist way of approaching problems is the correct one, and that capitalism is doomed.

In neither set of texts does Mitteilung retreat as far behind Appell as might appear from the above quotations on operative texts; clearly a central feature of pedagogic texts must remain the provision of factual information. Reiß emphasises that the three linguistic functions of Darstellung, Ausdruck and Appell cannot be mutually exclusive, and are also rarely present to an equal degree in a text (Reiß (1971: 32); Kußmaul (1974:89)). However, it is the variation in the degree of emphasis accorded to each function that determines the overall text-type, and in this respect we can see a clear difference between the FRG and the GDR texts. The GDR, with its stress on the importance of the Wechselwirkung von Rationalem und Emotionalem (Neuner et al (1976: 132f)) in the learning process, is more likely to produce texts in which

operative elements are predominant than is the FRG, where the emphasis is placed less on the emotional involvement of the pupils than on their intellectual engagement (5). Neither state is likely to produce purely operative or purely informative texts.

2.3 Particular operative features of the school text-books

Reiß presents a lengthy and detailed account of the type of language that is typically found in an operative text, which can be summarised under four major headings: emotive language, lexis, style and information. We deal with each of these categories in turn.

2.3.1 Emotive language

We include under this general heading the following specific categories discussed by Reiß: emotive language in general, evaluative language, political slogans, suggestion, superlatives and hyperbole, hymnic/religious language, metaphor, and Worthäufungen (Reiß (1976:34f)) (6). The use of these features is very different in the two sets of texts, and confirms that they belong to fundamentally different text-types. The function of emotive language is clearly to evoke an emotive response in the receiver, and in the light of our above discussion of Parteilichkeit it is not surprising that this type of language is much more widely employed, and for a different purpose, in the GDR texts. The emotive and evaluative terminology employed in the GDR texts serves mainly to present a positive picture of the GDR and socialism in general, and a negative one of capitalism and the FRG in particular. The following quotations are typical of this usage.

1 Nachdem sich die deutschen Imperialisten gegen die Interessen des Volkes mit Hilfe ihrer ausländischen Schirmherren in einem Teil Deutschlands einen eigenen Staat geschaffen hatten, gingen sie daran, ihre weiteren aggressiven Pläne zu verwirklichen . . . Faschistische Generale wie Manteuffel, Speidel, Heusinger und andere hohe Offiziere der Hitlerarmee wurden beauftragt, die neue Wehrmacht, die Bundeswehr, zu organisieren und für die neuen räuberischen Ziele der Monopole auszubilden. (7/77)

2 Am sichtbarsten wird der aggressive Charakter des BRD-Imperialismus als Teil des Weltimperialismus in der Unterstützung aller brutalen Herrschaftssysteme in der Welt, wie zum Beispiel Franco-Spanien, das Rassistenregime Süd-Afrika

und Israel. Die BRD hat immer den verbrecherischen Krieg der USA in Vietnam unterstützt und steht heute an der Seite der faschistischen Militärjunta in Chile. (7/86)

- 3 Von den Aktivisten der ersten Stunde, die mit bloßen Händen die Maschinen unter den Trümmerhaufen hervorgeholt haben und in Gang setzten, über den Hauer Adolf Hennecke . . . bis zu der Millionenarmee von Neuerern, die heute in der Republik im sozialistischen Wettbewerb angetreten sind, um mit ihren hohen Leistungen zum Wohle des ganzen Volkes kräftig beizutragen, führt ein gerader, aufsteigender Weg. (8/11-12)
- 4 Seit der bewußte Vortrupp der Arbeiterklasse den Kommunismus als Kampfziel auf sein Banner geschrieben hat, sind auf unserer Erde gewaltige Veränderungen vor sich gegangen. Wir alle sind Zeugen und Teilnehmer des welthistorischen Übergangs der Menschheit vom Kapitalismus zum Sozialismus. (9/89)
- 5 Der sozialistische Aufbau ist die Sache der Werktätigen, die sich im sozialistischen Wettbewerb zu einem mächtigen Strom vereinigen. Die sozialistische Demokratie ist Grundelement und Triebkraft des Sozialismus. Mit ihr entfaltet sich die sozialistische Gemeinschaftsarbeit als Hauptform der gesellschaftlichen Arbeit. Die Teilnahme des Volkes an der Leitung des Staates und der Wirtschaft, seine Fähigkeit, immer Neues zu entdecken und im Leben zu verwirklichen - das ist ein nie versiegender schöpferischer Kraftquell. (10/108) (our emphasis)

In differentiating between the operative Textsorten advertisement and propaganda Reiß states that the latter uses the devices of irony and pathos more than does the former. Pathos is found in the GDR texts, but neither pathos nor irony is present in the FRG texts as such (although these may contain extracts of other texts which do contain these features). The following is an example of pathos such as is not infrequently found in the GDR books:

- 6 In der Sowjetunion haben die Faschisten besonders grausam gewütet. Hier waren durch den faschistischen Überfall weite Strecken fruchtbaren Bodens verwüstet. Über 1700 Städte und 70 000 Dörfer wurden in Schutt und Asche gelegt. Die Zivilbevölkerung wurde bestialisch mißhandelt, Hunderttausende wurden ermordet. Weit über 20 Millionen Sowjetbürger gaben für die Befreiung ihrer sozialistischen Heimat und der Völker von der Tyrannei des Hitlerfaschismus ihr Teuerstes - ihr Leben. (7/12)

Irony is achieved in both sets of texts mainly through the use of cartoons. In the FRG books a discussion of Pressefreiheit in TP, p 92f contains two examples of this: a television newsreader is shown shackled to his desk, with a dagger suspended above his head and someone about to light the fuse to a bomb under his chair; and a cartoon

in 18th century style shows a group of men sitting at a table wearing gags, whilst the caption reads

7 Wichtige Frage welche in heutiger Sitzung bedacht wird:
 Wie lange mochte uns das Denken wohl noch erlaubt bleiben?

Such cartoons are intended to provoke discussion; they are presented together with quotations and comments from a variety of sources relating to the topic, and provide a light-hearted perspective on a serious topic.

Cartoons are employed in the GDR texts with a different end in view; their aesthetic and humorous aspects are appreciated (G Schmidt (1976: 352f)), but they serve, not as a point of departure for discussion and the drawing of individual conclusions, but rather, like all other aspects of political education in the GDR, to reinforce the Parteilichkeit of the teaching and strengthen the pupils' ideological convictions. G Schmidt makes a preliminary distinction between humour and satire, as representing basic acceptance or rejection of the object of attention (G Schmidt (1976:353)); this distinction is then extended to the use of irony, where Schmidt writes as follows:

Bei der humoristischen Ironie werden einzelne Seiten der
Erscheinung verspottet, bei der satirischen Ironie das
Wesen geißelt. (G Schmidt (1976:353))

The relevance of this distinction to political education is made clear in the following paragraph:

. . . Es (ist) nicht zufällig, daß sich alle humoristischen
Darstellungen auf die sozialistische und alle satirischen
Darstellungen auf die kapitalistische Gesellschaftsordnung
beziehen. (G Schmidt (1976:353))

Emotive and evaluative terminology is less common in the body of the FRG texts, although individual quotations and extracts may contain this type of language. Unlike in the GDR texts, these extracts are not necessarily intended to reinforce the basic message of the text as a whole, but serve rather as illustrative examples of whatever topic is being discussed. We deal with this in more detail below. The language in those parts of the texts which are written by the compilers of the books themselves rather than derived from other sources is for the most part a great deal less emotive than that found in the GDR books, as illustrated in the examples here:

8 Die Tatsache, daß große Unterschiede in den sozialen Lebens-
 lagen der Menschen bestehen, ist keine Naturnotwendigkeit,
 die nicht zu ändern wäre. Die Bundesrepublik versteht sich

als ein Sozialstaat, das heißt: Jeder Bürger soll vor ungeschuldeter Not geschützt werden. Staatliche Maßnahmen sollen Schwachen und Benachteiligten helfen, damit mehr soziale Chancengleichheit erreicht wird. (TP, p 122)

- 9 Am 1. September 1948 trat der "Parlamentarische Rat" zusammen; 65 Mitglieder der Landtage begannen mit der Erarbeitung einer Staatsverfassung. Dieses "Grundgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" trat am 24. Mai 1949 in Kraft. (G&P, p 75)
- 10 Die Frage, ob das Volkseinkommen gerecht verteilt ist, ist umstritten. Zu ihrer Beantwortung kann man vergleichen, wieviel Prozent der Erwerbstätigen selbständig, wieviel unselbständig tätig sind und was diese Gruppen verdienen. S.118 u.126 (TP, p 125)
- 11 Die DDR ist Mitglied des RGW . . . d.h. des Zusammenschlusses der volksdemokratischen Länder Europas auf Grund gemeinsamer wirtschaftlicher und wirtschaftspolitischer Interessen, wie die Bundesrepublik Mitglied der "Europäischen Gemeinschaft" ist. (G&P, p 186)

Whilst the above quotations contain evaluative elements, these are much less explicit than is the case in the GDR texts, and the reaction that is expected of the receiver is much less obvious, if indeed the authors expected any reaction at all other than that of simply absorbing factual information. As was discussed in an earlier section, the FRG educators state that they wish their young people to make their own decisions on the basis of factual information, rather than having their opinions prescribed for them; in most cases the textbooks we investigated serve this aim well and provide information and stimuli rather than ready-made evaluations and opinions. Frequently the reader is presented with a series of quotations from various sources on a particular issue and is asked to say what the differences are between the various extracts and give his own views on the topic; for example, in G&P (p 172) are juxtaposed comments from the CDU and the IG Metall on the topic of worker co-determination in industry, and G&P (p 134-5) contains a series of quotations on Recht from Demosthenes, Saint Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and others right through to the National Socialists and the present two German states. Some of these statements make judgements, eg Thomas Aquinas sees belief in Christ as an indispensable prerequisite for any real appreciation of the concept of justice; similarly, Radbruch condemns the results of the Nazi concept of law. However, none of these views is recommended to the readers as being correct, and at the end of this introductory section, after being given various exercises in connection with the texts, the pupils are addressed

thus:

- 12 Wenn Ihr Euch mit den vorangegangenen Texten auseinander-
 gesetzt habt, werdet Ihr Euch vielleicht einer der dort
 vertretenen Auffassungen über "Recht" angeschlossen haben.
 Möglicherweise habt Ihr Euch eine eigene Meinung gebildet
 oder Ihr seid zu der Auffassung gekommen, daß man keine
 allgemeinen und immer gültigen Aussagen über das Recht
 machen kann . . . (G&P, p 135)

Here allowance is made for a variety of opinions, and no one reaction to the texts presented is prescribed. Sometimes, however, the appearance of pluralist neutrality in the FRG texts is deceptive, and whilst overtly emotive language is largely avoided, the texts contain evaluative passages which may be all the more effective as prescriptions by reason of their very lack of explicitness. For example, the information section in Thema Politik contains the following sentence:

- 13 Das Bonner Grundgesetz will den Parteienpluralismus; mehrere
 Parteien kämpfen gegeneinander um die Mehrheit der Wähler-
 stimmen. (TP, p 137)

There is no overt evaluation here, but it is likely that the readers will identify emotionally with the FRG for the simple reason that they live there; features such as pluralism, which is here identified as a fundamental feature of the FRG's political and economic system, are therefore likely to be evaluated positively by association. Pluralismus is collocated in this sentence with Grundgesetz, and in the broader context of the section as a whole with concepts such as demokratische Grundsätze and freiheitlich-demokratische Grundordnung, which are all positively evaluative. After this section comes an extract entitled Der Einparteienstaat der DDR (TP, p 138f); here the diametric contrast with what has just been stated about the FRG is likely to provoke a negative judgement in the minds of the readers before they have even begun to read the section itself. The judgemental nature of this purportedly purely informative text is reinforced by the very use of the term Einparteienstaat to refer to the GDR; this term is frequently used in the west and, despite the lack of real political clout of any party other than the SED, it is strictly inaccurate. Despite the fact that the authors of Thema Politik do mention the existence of other parties in the GDR later in the text, the negative connotations of the title of the section are unlikely to be neutralised by this.

Clearly the writers of the FRG textbooks hope that the schoolchildren will identify with the FRG and become integrated citizens, so it is

not surprising that they attempt to win the allegiance of their readers for their subject-matter in this way; indeed, it would be surprising were they not to do this. What is interesting in the context of the present thesis is, however, the contrast between what the FRG legislators and leading educationists state as their aims and their declared preferred methods of achieving those aims, and the actual linguistic form of the texts that are used as a means to these same ends. The declared aim is that the pupils should make a conscious decision in favour of the FRG, based on an independent and disinterested evaluation of all available information; however, as we have just noted, the texts do in places contain distinctly evaluative, if not emotive material. The question as to whether this is accidental or deliberate is one into which we cannot go here, but it emerges clearly from this brief discussion that the FRG texts are not always as neutral as may be claimed, and that more or less subtly judgemental features are present.

A further example of this occurs in Thema Politik towards the end of the section on the GDR. The last paragraph on Parteiorgane runs thus:

- 14 Nach dem Buchstaben wäre der Parteitag als Vertretung der etwa 2 Millionen Mitglieder das wichtigste Parteiorgan, danach das Zentralkomitee als dessen Vertretung. Aber in Wahrheit sind in der DDR beide Organe nur dazu da, um die Politik des Politbüros und des Zentralsekretariats gutzuheißen. (TP, p 138)

This appears simply to be stating a fact, but the juxtaposition of Buchstabe and Wahrheit expresses a clearly negative evaluation of what the GDR says, and, by implication, a condemnation of the GDR itself.

Much more overt evaluations are illustrated in the two examples below:

- 15 In (der DDR) ist . . . das Privateigentum wie die private Verfügung an Produktionsmitteln abgeschafft worden, und Planwirtschaft regelt Produktion, Markt und Dienstleistungen. Die Bürger allerdings wurden niemals befragt, ob sie mit der Verstaatlichung aller Betriebe einverstanden seien. Die Enteignungen erfolgten vielmehr gewaltsam. (G&P, p 186)
- 16 Da alle ihr Einkommen aus ihrer Arbeit beziehen, behaupten die Führenden in der DDR, die Macht werde von den Werktätigen direkt ausgeübt. Das stimmt nicht. Ebenso wenig wie in der Bundesrepublik, so kann auch in der DDR nicht die ganze Bevölkerung an den politischen Entscheidungen direkt beteiligt sein. (TP, p 137)

The use in the first example here of the positively evaluative Privateigentum and its collocation with the negative enteignet, as well as the negative niemals befragt, Enteignungen and gewaltsam combine to

give a negative picture of the GDR economy; similarly, in the second example, the use of the distancing subjunctive, the pejorative term Führende, and the brusque das stimmt nicht contradict and negate the GDR's stated beliefs.

It is clear from the above that the FRG texts contain evaluative, if not overtly emotive elements, and in this respect they can be classified together with the GDR texts as belonging to the text-type "operative". However, there are two important qualifications to be made to this: firstly, the evaluations in the FRG texts are by no means so overt or so frequent as those in the GDR texts; secondly, the FRG texts do not present a uniformly parteilich set of evaluations in favour of their own system, as is the case with the GDR texts, but are generally more critical and sceptical of all political systems.

This is confirmed by the following examples, which present a critical view of the FRG economic system and of the media:

- 17 Läßt man die öffentlichen Haushalte . . . außer Betracht, so zeigt sich . . . die nahezu gleiche Vermögensstruktur: 70 Prozent in privater Hand waren den Selbständigen zugeflossen, bei den Arbeitnehmern waren . . . nur 25,7, bei den Rentnern nur 4,3% der Vermögen gelandet . . . 1,7 Prozent aller Haushalte besaßen also 70% des in inländischem Privatbesitz befindlichen Produktivvermögens. (G&P, p 161-2)
- 18 Durch die Auswahl des Intendanten und der Journalisten in gehobenen Positionen wollen die verschiedenen Interessengruppen auf das Programm Einfluß nehmen. Gewinnt eine Richtung die Vorherrschaft, dann ist auch in diesen und durch diese Öffentlich-rechtlichen Anstalten die Freiheit der Information und Kommunikation gefährdet. (TP, p 147)

Whilst the view presented in the extracts above is critical, it is by no means condemnatory; the aim is to make the readers aware of shortcomings within their own political system and to show where there is room for improvement. This kind of critique of one's own system is not found in the GDR books.

Further examples of the FRG books' capacity for questioning the basis of their own system is found in the sections dealing with the Third World. Thema Politik provides statistics on trade and population in the Third World and in industrialised countries, and then the text runs thus:

- 19 Die Zahlen legen die Vermutung nahe:
 Die reichen Länder werden immer reicher.

Der Abstand zu den Ländern, die wir als Entwicklungsländer bezeichnen, wird immer größer.

Deshalb müssen wir fragen: Warum entwickeln sich die meisten Länder der Dritten Welt nicht oder nur langsam?

- Liegen die Gründe bei ihnen selbst?

- Oder sind die Industrieländer reich auf Kosten der Entwicklungsländer? (TP, p 105)

This extract questions its own terminology, and finds fault with the political designation normally applied to the countries in question. The reader is asked to offer an explanation of the facts as presented, since the underlying reason for these is by no means self-evident; one suggested possibility is that the industrialised nations, with which the FRG is identified via wir, may be the cause of poverty in the Third World. This idea is not developed further in the textbook itself, but the fact that it is suggested at all, and that the readers are asked to follow a line of reasoning that would result in a conclusion critical of their own political system is in diametric contrast to the situation obtaining in the GDR books.

The following example from Gesellschaft und Politik shows even more clearly the willingness of the FRG books to criticise their own system:

20 Niemand wird abstreiten, daß jene Gegenden unserer Erde, die heute als Entwicklungsgebiete, -zonen, -länder bezeichnet werden, zum erheblichen Teil direkt oder indirekt europäisch beherrscht - und in Verbindung damit auch unterdrückt, ausgebeutet, in ihrer wirtschaftlichen Entfaltung in eine bestimmte Richtung, vor allem des billigen Rohstofflieferanten gedrängt - wurden, ehe sie ihre Selbständigkeit erlangten oder erkämpften. Ihre heutige Unterentwicklung ist also selbst ein Ergebnis von fremdbestimmter Entwicklung. (G&P, p 283) (7)

Reiß writes that suggestion through the use of slogans with imprecise meanings is a typical feature of advertising texts - it is intended to make people buy things (Reiß (1976:38)). Similarly, she states that suggestion is used in political texts to influence people in favour of or against something, and so is to be found in operative texts. She states that political slogans are used in propaganda because of their suggestiveness and because they

dienen auch dazu, die dahinter stehenden Realitäten euphemistisch zu verschleiern und die Emotionen zu mobilisieren, ehe der Verstand sich die Mühe gibt, zu ermitteln, welcher Informationsgehalt hinter der Formulierung stecken könnte. (Reiß (1976:48); see also p 45; Lumley (1925:296-7); W Schmidt (1972b:33))

Slogans as such are relatively rare in both sets of school textbooks,

as the texts are not purely propagandistic, but contain a great deal of factual information as well. The GDR books quote a series of slogans from various movements and periods of socialist history, all of which are regarded as positive; however, none of them is directed specifically at the pupils or the contemporary situation. Examples include the following from the time of the first Five Year Plan:

21 . So wie wir heute arbeiten, werden wir morgen leben. (7/49);
a contemporary slogan of the National Front:

22 Schöner unsere Städte und Gemeinden - Mach mit! (8/31)

Western sayings and slogans are ridiculed as typifying capitalist attitudes towards the working class and the class-system in general:

23 Mein Heim ist meine Welt.
Politik ist nichts für den kleinen Mann. (9/53)

In this category of evaluation through suggestion Reiß includes the use of Reizwörter, which are usually negative terms calculated to arouse opposition; emotive words are repeated frequently in similar collocations with the intention of ensuring that the evaluative content of the word and the concepts associated with it are absorbed by the reader. The clearest examples of this use of language from the GDR texts are the words Imperialismus and Kapitalismus, which appear consistently in contexts such as the following:

24 Wirtschaftskrisen im Kapitalismus (10/22); die Unterdrückung der Arbeiterklasse (9/33f); Gründung der BRD; kapitalistische Ausbeutung (9/24).

Unlike advertising terminology these terms are not vague or imprecise, but, despite their emotive elements, are closely defined (Schmidt (1972b:33f); H Wagner (1981:24f)). Corresponding positive Reizwörter common in the GDR texts are Arbeiterklasse and Partei, which are frequently found in contexts such as:

25 Die Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands - Vortrupp der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen in der DDR (8/17f); die Partei - Vorhut der Arbeiterklasse (8/18); die weltverändernde Rolle der Arbeiterklasse; die Arbeiterklasse als revolutionärste und stärkste Klasse (9/45); die historische Mission der Arbeiterklasse (9/51f); die führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft (10/122f).

There is in the GDR texts a great deal of repetition of what might be termed "positive Reizwörter" or "Reizphrasen"; these occur in many contexts, but particularly in connection with the desire for solidarity with the Soviet Union and the CMEA, as in the following examples:

- 26 Eine weitere wichtige Grundlage für unsere Erfolge ist die feste Verankerung der DDR in der sozialistischen Staatengemeinschaft, insbesondere das unverbrüchliche Bündnis mit der Sowjetunion. (7/74)
- 27 Für den weiteren erfolgreichen Kampf der Kommunisten in den kapitalistischen Ländern erweist sich das solidarische Bündnis mit der Sowjetunion und den anderen sozialistischen Ländern als unabdingbares Erfordernis. (10/43; see also 7/73, 89; 8/25, 52, 55; 9/62; 10/28, 30, 31, 109, 111, 117)

Phrases such as these are repeated every time there is any credit given for the success of the GDR or the achievements of Party workers abroad, or even for the fact that there has not yet been a Third World War.

An extremely important formula on the internal level is that connected with the unity of the workers and their leadership by the politically aware part of the proletariat:

- 28 In diesen (sozialistischen) Staaten übt die Arbeiterklasse die politische Macht im Bündnis mit allen anderen werktätigen Klassen und Schichten mit dem Ziel aus, das materielle und kulturelle Lebensniveau aller Werktätigen ständig zu erhöhen. (8/10)
- 29 (Der Übergang zum Sozialismus) vollzieht sich nicht im Selbstlauf, sondern wird von der internationalen Arbeiterklasse im Bündnis mit den anderen Werktätigen in harten Klassenkämpfen durchgesetzt. (9/7; see also 7/50, 65, 67, 73-4; 8/10, 19, 27, 28, 43; 9/56, 62; 10/12, 97, 112, 132)

These two issues - solidarity with other socialist states and the unity of the workers within the GDR - are central to the ML ideology as professed and taught in the GDR, and have to be learned very early by the schoolchildren. The constant repetition of very similar phrases increases the chance that the phrases will be remembered; since the children are still relatively young when they start learning about politics, it is possible that they will simply accept and internalise these almost ritualistic phrases without question. This is clearly the authors' intention (see Lyons (1968:452)).

The FRG book Gesellschaft und Politik quotes the slogans used by all the political parties in the 1976 Federal election (G&P, p 14), but no comment is given on any of them. They are simply presented in the context of a discussion of advertising and propaganda, and the reader is referred to a later section of the book that deals in more detail with the political parties. No slogans are used to refer to the contemporary

situation in the FRG or to try to persuade the pupils to adopt any particular slogan as a personal motto.

There is no consistent use of emotive Reizwörter in the FRG texts such as is to be found in the GDR texts; possible exceptions to this general rule are the terms Nationalsozialismus, which is unequivocally negative, and Demokratie, which is consistently positive throughout the discussions of the varying forms and views of democracy that are to be found (8).

Reiß states that politische Invektive of the type found in the GDR texts encourages the formation of prejudices in the receiver of the message:

Wie bei der Reklame so wird bei der Propaganda auf diese Weise der Textempfänger unmerklich auf vorgeprägte Werturteile festgelegt, die ihm suggeriert und nicht auf dem Wege über rationale Argumentation nahegebracht werden.
(Reiß (1976:46))

It is likely that children and adolescents, with their limited experience of the world, will be even more susceptible to this kind of approach than will adults who have had more chance to form their own opinions. The GDR texts make greater use of these insights than does the FRG in appealing to the emotions as well as the intellect of the pupils.

Another type of emotive language discussed by Reiß as typical of operative texts is the use of superlatives and hyperbole. These are very common in the GDR texts, but rare in the FRG ones. Examples of the use of superlatives in the GDR texts include the following:

30 (Die DDR) ist für immer mit dem mächtigsten sozialistischen Land, der Sowjetunion, sowie mit der erfahrensten und stärksten marxistisch-leninistischen Partei, der . . . (KPdSU) verbunden. (7/10)

31 Die kommunistische Weltbewegung, die größte und einflußreichste politische Kraft unserer Zeit. (8/25)

Hyperbole is illustrated in the following extract:

32 Die Entwicklung der sozialistischen Wirtschaft wird dadurch geprägt, daß das Wohl des Menschen der Sinn des Sozialismus ist. Leitmotiv unserer Wirtschaftspolitik war stets die von Lenin formulierte Erkenntnis: "Nur der Sozialismus wird es ermöglichen, die gesellschaftliche Erzeugung und Verteilung der Güter nach wissenschaftlichen Erwägungen umfassend zu verbreiten und richtig zu meistern, ausgehend davon, wie das Leben aller Werktätigen aufs äußerste erleichtert, wie ihnen ein Leben in Wohlstand ermöglicht

werden kann. (10/64)

The statements made in the extracts above are not objectively verifiable, rather they are statements of belief; they are calculated to impress and evoke in the reader desirable schemes of interpretation and comparison.

Similar in kind is the use of hymnische oder pseudoreligiöse Sprache (Reiß (1976:36f)), which again is relatively common in the GDR texts, as in the following example:

33 Sowjetunion, wenn wir alles Blut,
in deinem Kampf vergossen, vereinten,
alles, das du der Welt wie eine Mutter gabst,
damit die sterbende Freiheit wieder lebe,
würden wir einen neuen Ozean haben,
groß wie keinen,
tief wie keinen,
lebendig wie alle Ströme zusammen,
tätig wie das Feuer der Andenvulkane . . . (7/12)
(See also 8/104, 8/114)

The FRG texts do not contain any "hymns", except those such as the following which are intended to be ironic:

34 Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
Ist's Preußenland? Ist's Schwabenland?
Ist's wo am Rhein die Rebe blüht?
Ist's wo am Belt die Möwe zieht?
O nein, nein, nein,
sein Vaterland muß größer sein! . . .
(G&P, p 69)

This text is used simply to illustrate a point being made about patriotic attitudes in the past; in no way is it suggested that the readers should adopt the feelings expressed in the poem for themselves. Probably the nearest approach to religious language in the FRG texts is in the section on Law in Thema Politik; here we find a series of short statements such as:

35 Recht ohne Macht ist unwirksam. Macht ohne Recht ist
Tyrannei.
Keine Strafe ohne Gesetz.
Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn.
Dieben wird die rechte Hand abgehackt. (TP, p 30)

The contrast between these absolute-sounding statements is intended to illustrate to the readers that however final something may sound, it will not last forever or be valid everywhere: all laws and beliefs are temporary and change according to the situation; unlike in Marxist-Leninist doctrine, there is no overlying law as to what form these changes are to take.

Finally in this section on emotive language, Reiß discusses the use of figurative language and Worthäufungen in operative texts:

Metaphern, Bilder, Vergleiche, Allegorien sollen das Interesse wecken, Anschaulichkeit vermitteln, die Auffassungen und Sichtweisen in eine bestimmte (parteiliche) Richtung lenken. (Reiß (1976:47); see H Wagner (1981:25, 27) on metaphors in (written) political language in the GDR intended for adults)

Similes in the GDR texts are rare; there is only the comparison of capitalists with wolves (9/42). There is, however, a whole series of military metaphors, such as Klassenkampf, the Party as Vortrupp or Vorhut der Arbeiterklasse, Aktion, Strategie, Taktik (10/126). Otherwise there is little figurative language in the GDR texts. This does not mean that the authors do not wish to achieve the effects mentioned above, but it is likely that the pupils find figurative language relatively difficult to deal with; moreover, figurative language cannot be allowed to occupy too large a place in an ideology that defines itself as "scientific".

The FRG texts occasionally use what might be termed "parables" to introduce a new area for discussion; for example, Thema Politik contains a series of examples of how different teachers react to their pupils' work: they are sarcastic, indifferent, encouraging and so on; the pupils are then asked to decide which is the best reaction in each situation (TP, p 42). Apart from this there is again very little imagery or figurative language in the texts.

2.3.2 Lexis

The use of specialist terminology and foreign loan-words in a particular way and with a particular purpose is seen by Reiß as another typical feature of an operative text. Thus she writes:

. . . bei der Propagandasprache ist das Fachwort vorwiegend dort anzutreffen, wo es sachlich notwendig ist und nebenbei den Sachverstand des Textautors eindrucksvoll belegen kann . . . Das Fremdwort dagegen ist als Mittel der Auf- und Abwertung beliebt; erschwert es doch durch seine Unverständlichkeit . . . die Nachprüfbarkeit von Anschuldigungen. (Reiß (1976:46))

There are many examples of specialist terminology in the GDR texts, especially in those for the older pupils where scientific ML is introduced. For example, the contents page of book 10 contains the

following subtitles to the various sections in chapter 2:

- 36 Die sozialistische Produktionsweise
 Die ökonomischen Gesetze des Sozialismus
 Das ökonomische Grundgesetz des Sozialismus
 Die Hauptaufgabe und die Einheit von Wirtschafts- und
 Sozialpolitik
 Das Gesetz der planmäßigen proportionalen Entwicklung der
 Volkswirtschaft
 Die sozialistische Intensivierung
 Ökonomie der Zeit und stetige Steigerung der Arbeits-
 produktivität
 Der wissenschaftlich-technische Fortschritt als Haupt-
 faktor der Intensivierung. (10/4)

Although some of the above terminology may not appear to be particularly technical or specialised, all the phrases in the above list have a specific and closely defined meaning within the framework of socialist economics. Since the GDR books are written by a collective, it is not likely that the above phrases would be intended to show off the Sachverstand of the authors; rather, they are simply technical terms that must be learned.

The case is similar with the FRG books, where we find, for example, the following quotation on automation:

- 37 "Automation ist eine nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg sich ausbreitende Produktions- und Informationstechnik, welche unter Anwendung des Rückkopplungsprinzips und von Elektronenrechnern sowie einer bis an die technisch und wirtschaftlich gezogenen Grenzen getriebenen Mechanisierung und Rationalisierung die menschliche Arbeitskraft in ihren physischen und geistigen Funktionen durch Maschinen ersetzt, die selbst wieder durch Maschinen kontrolliert werden". (G&P, p 192, quoting Pollock (1964:28))

This passage is quoted by the authors of the text book because it contains many technical terms that are subsequently to be explained individually: they are all necessary to an understanding and appreciation of the implications of the discussion that follows on Wirtschaftliche und soziale Auswirkungen der Automation (G&P, p 193). Again, the words are not intended simply to impress or confound the reader.

Reiß regards the use of Fremdwörter as less defensible than that of technical and specialist terms, since they can lead to unquestioning acceptance of the implications of statements. The following extract from GDR book 10, which consists of quotations from "imperialist" sources, contains many foreign words which are not explained: the lack of comprehension caused by this is presumably intended by the authors to reinforce the "instinctive" feelings of hatred for capitalism

felt by the pupils:

- 38 Für uns geht es darum, nach der Ignorierung und Isolierung zu einer Politik der "Präparierung" der DDR überzugehen . . . Wir erfassen damit Faktoren, welche auf die Wünsche und Vorstellungen der Bevölkerung, der einzelnen Schichten und Individuen einwirken. Unsere Mittel sind: Rundfunk, Fernsehen, in geringem Maße die Presse und alles, was man unter "Kontakten" versteht, (zur) Auflockerung . . . durch die Faszination westlicher Formen. (10/56 quoting Die Welt)

Generally, however, there are relatively few loan-words in the GDR texts; this may be a pedagogic device to ensure that the pupils do not face extra unnecessary difficulties in understanding the texts, or, which is equally likely, an attempt to heighten the "foreignness" of the other "world of discourse" of the West by appeal to a stereotyped version of it (9).

The FRG texts virtually always explain the meaning of loan-words, of which there are many, normally anglicisms. Examples include the following:

- 39 dezimiert (verringert) (TP, p 61); Kulminationspunkt (Höhepunkt) (TP, p 63); Monatsbudget (Haushaltsgeld) (TP, p 89); Effektivität (Wirksamkeit) (G&P, p 83); optieren (sich entscheiden) (G&P, p 112); adäquat (geeignet) (G&P, p 202).

The use of compound words, particularly new coinings, is said by Reiß to cause "semantische Verschwommenheit" (Reiß (1976:46)), thus often leading people to accept without criticism what is said. There is little evidence of this phenomenon in either set of texts, and Reiß herself admits that it is relatively rare. We do however find the following in a passage in GDR book 9 dealing with the evils of capitalism: the precise meanings of many of the compound nouns are left unclear:

- 40 Trotz Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen in einigen kapitalistischen Ländern ist es eine unbestreitbare Tatsache daß
- im Vergleich zum Jahr 1850 die Ausbeutung der werktätigen Massen in der Industrie auf rund 800 Prozent gestiegen und so hoch wie nie zuvor in der Geschichte ist;
 - Existenzunsicherheit, Arbeitslosigkeit, Kaufkraftschwund, Mietwucher und Meinungsmanipulation in den ökonomisch hochentwickelten kapitalistischen Ländern wachsen;
 - in den ökonomisch schwach entwickelten kapitalistischen Ländern das Elend der Arbeiterklasse in Form von Armut, Hunger, Kindersterblichkeit, Arbeitslosigkeit, Rechtslosigkeit und Unwissenheit unvorstellbare Ausmaße angenommen hat. (9/46-7)

No details are given as to what these words involve; they all clearly

are negative, and it is this fact, rather than the precise meaning of the passage, that is likely to be absorbed by the reader.

The use of catch-words and -phrases is said by Reiß to be another typical feature of operative texts, and represents another way of increasing the emotive impact of the text at the expense of rational comprehension. Reiß quotes the following definition:

Ein Schlagwort ist ein sprachlich gefaßter Gedanke 1. in konzentrierter Kürze, 2. von stilistischem Reiz, 3. die Wirklichkeit vereinfachend, 4. in bestimmter Tendenz, 5. zum Zwecke der Anhängerwerbung, 6. in ungewöhnlich häufigem Gebrauch. (Reiß (1976:78))

We have mentioned above the large amount of repetition in the GDR texts, and several of the items that are repeated frequently can be placed in the category of catch-words or slogans :

- 41 Aufbau des Sozialismus (7/37),
 historische Mission der Arbeiterklasse (9/52),
 Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung (10/9).

Both sets of texts claim that their state is democratic:

- 42 Mit dem Sozialismus hat in unserem Lande zum erstenmal die
 Demokratie feste Wurzeln geschlagen. (8/63)
- 43 Von Demokratie gibt es unterschiedliche Auffassungen.
 Eine davon findet sich in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,
 eine andere in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik.
 (TP, p 135)

Apart from this, however, there is little in the FRG texts that could be termed a slogan. There are issues such as Mitbestimmung (TP, p 132; G&P, p 172f) and Atomwaffen (TP, p 162f; G&P, p 272f) which receive a good deal of attention, but these can hardly be described as central issues or characteristics of the FRG political system. (See however our discussion in Part I of terms in the FRG which are "unter Naturschutz").

2.3.3 Style

Reiß states that operative texts as used in propaganda have a simple syntactic structure in order that they should be understood by as many people as possible. The same is true of school text-books, not because of the variety of people comprising the readership, but because of their age: since these are pedagogic texts the authors cannot risk their being incomprehensible. Sentences in the GDR texts contain more words

than those in the FRG texts, but are syntactically simpler: the GDR sentences tend in the main to contain a series of paratactic clauses, while the FRG texts, possibly as a result of their containing so many quotations from adults, contain more hypotactic constructions which are correspondingly more difficult to understand. (See the section below on Cohesion for a more detailed discussion of this). In this respect too neither set of texts is really what Reiß would call propaganda, although the GDR texts may be said to contain more propagandistic features.

Propaganda texts are said often to contain a mixture of styles and deliberate Stilbrüche to awaken emotions in the receiver (Reiß (1976: 47)). This is generally not the case with the GDR texts, which are written in the same style throughout, one feature of which happens to be emotive terminology. The occurrence of this is too frequent to be termed a Stilbruch, although the comparison of capitalist entrepreneurs to wolves may be regarded as a break with scientific style (9/42).

The FRG texts employ quotations from many different sources, ranging from the Constitution and Federal laws to statements made by foreign schoolchildren. All of these extracts are written in different styles, the sum total of them thus amounts to a Stilmischung (Reiß (1976:47)). The aim behind the combination of these passages and their different styles is, however, not the awakening of emotions in the reader, but an illustration of the FRG's basic tenet of pluralism.

In this respect again neither set of texts can be termed propagandistic in Reiß's sense.

Reiß discerns various rhetorical features as being typical of operative texts. The first of these is anaphora, which is related to the issues of pronominalisation and cohesion, with which we deal in detail in a separate section below. Reiß' second rhetorical feature is antithesis. In the GDR texts there is a continual juxtaposing of the merits of socialism and the demerits of capitalism, as in the example here:

- 44 In der DDR, in der die Arbeiterklasse die Macht hat, haben alle Menschen eine schöne und sichere Zukunft. Bildung und Erziehung haben das Ziel, allen Bürgern Wissen, Selbstbewußtsein und Würde zu geben.
Die BRD ist ein Staat der geistigen Unfreiheit, der Unmenschlichkeit und der Unterdrückung des Denkens im Klasseninteresse des herrschenden Imperialismus.

Die DDR kämpft gemeinsam mit den anderen sozialistischen Ländern und mit allen fortschrittlichen Menschen für die Erhaltung des Friedens und für Fortschritt und Völkerverständigung in der ganzen Welt.

Die BRD strebt nach wie vor an der Seite der USA nach der Beseitigung des Sozialismus in der DDR und in den anderen sozialistischen Ländern. Sie unterstützt die Kriegspolitik anderer imperialistischer Staaten und hilft ihnen bei der Unterdrückung der Völker. (7/90)

The aim of such passages is clearly to evoke emotions in favour of socialism and against capitalism. The FRG texts employ a similar strategy, not with the aim of evoking emotion, however, but of promoting reflection. For example, Thema Politik juxtaposes the opinions of a publisher, a journalist and a reader on the subject of the freedom of the press (TP, p 94); a similar contrast is pointed to in the laws of the FRG and the GDR on the freedom of the press (TP, p 95). The "antitheses" illustrated here are intended to show the similarities and differences between the various interested parties, and to provoke the reader to discuss the topic, rather than to call for solidarity with any one particular group.

2.3.4 Information

The features listed by Reiß which can be placed under this heading include the use of questions within the text, quotations and examples from real life, and the inclusion of purely informative rather than purely operative elements. In all of these cases the prime aim of the operative text is still clearly to persuade the receiver to adopt a particular point of view or course of action.

Fragen zur Weckung erlahmender Aufmerksamkeit (Reiß (1976:47)) are relatively rare in the GDR books. As in most school text books, the questions form a separate section at the end of the factual part of each chapter. We discuss these in a separate section below. The device of the rhetorical question is fairly rare (10); it is used once as a title for a section of a chapter (Was ist Kommunismus?) (9/78). This device is used more often in the FRG books:

- 45 "Was also ist das, Politik? . . . Und was sollte und könnte sie sein, die Politik?" (G&P, p 11)
- 46 "Sind wir auf dem Wege zum Volkskapitalismus?" (G&P, p 161)
- 47 "Können wir immer mehr erzeugen?" (TP, p 62; see also 20, 32, 34, 46, 54, 66, 99, etc)

These questions, most of which are titles of sections in a chapter,

are calculated to problematise issues and to involve the readers in the solving of them. As in the GDR texts, questions on the content and other exercises are separate from the body of the text.

Reiß writes that the writers of propaganda texts often quote examples from real life as Garanten to prove that they are right and to prove their point (Reiß (1976:48); see similarly H Wagner (1981:29)). In a discussion of capitalism the GDR texts name actual FRG chain stores as an example of "Das Wolfsgesetz" (9/42); in a discussion of the "German Question" they quote Adenauer and other Western politicians to show that the FRG intended and still intends to destroy the GDR (7/77, 78); book 8 quotes part of the programme of the SED and shows how it has been fulfilled (8/49-50).

Reiß also lists among the features of an operative text "Lebensnähe und Aktualitätsbezug, die das Interesse wecken und wachhalten" (Reiß (1976:65)). The GDR texts attempt to attract and hold the readers' attention by reference to items such as the achievements of the FDJ, of which most of the children will be members; for example, GDR book 8 contains a full-page map showing the GDR and the zentrale Jugendobjekte such as power-stations, pipelines, sea-ports and dams (8/109).

The FRG books attempt to do the same thing by choosing their examples from familiar spheres such as shopping:

48 Im Supermarkt sind viele Leute. Ingrid schiebt ihren Wagen langsam vor. Hier ist die Margarine. Ingrid weiß genau, welche die Mutter immer kauft . . . (TP, p 36);

or temptation, such as to smoke a cigarette:

49 Kinder wollen alle gerne für voll genommen werden, sie wollen erwachsen sein; denn aus ihrer Sicht sind Erwachsene frei und selbständig. So gibt zB das Rauchen ein Gefühl, wie die Erwachsenen zu sein . . . (TP, p 24)

Both sets of texts also make reference to these familiar areas when asking questions and setting tasks: the children are expected to relate what they have read about in theory to their own reality:

50 Laß dir von eurer Patenbrigade berichten, welche Waren der Betrieb auf der Leipziger Messe ausstellt! (7/46)

51 Wie können Sie als zukünftige Facharbeiter in der sozialistischen Produktion zur Steigerung der Arbeitsproduktivität und damit zur Erhöhung der Effektivität beitragen? (10/94)

52 Welche Leistungsanforderungen werden an Euch (Eure jüngeren und älteren Geschwister, an andere Kinder) gestellt: in der Schule, außerhalb der Schule?
 . . . Welche Aufgaben habt Ihr freiwillig übernommen, welche gehören zur 'notwendigen Pflicht'? (G&P, p 213)

53 Gibt es an eurer Schule eine Schülerzeitung? Wer hat bei euch den entscheidenden Einfluß auf das, was gedruckt werden darf? Informiert euch bei eurem Vertrauenslehrer über die rechtlichen Fragen, die bei einer Schülerzeitung wichtig sind. (TP, p 94)

Reiß states that such quotations are likely to be equally, if not more, effective if they are taken from the "other side" and used to illustrate the shortcomings of that side. As was seen in the examples above, it is easier to suggest that something is bad and to destroy the confidence that people have in it than it is to convince them that something is good and right. The FRG texts do not attempt to do either of these things, but quote from all kinds of sources just to show what those sources believe. On one page in Gesellschaft und Politik there are quotations from 3000 Jahre politische Propaganda by Alfred Stürminger, Hitler's Mein Kampf and Was Kinder und Kaufleute glücklich macht, by Ruth Herrmann (G&P, p 13): these are all in the context of advertising, propaganda and the media. These examples are not given with the aim of proving that the authors of Gesellschaft und Politik are right, since they are not voicing an opinion, except possibly that one should take into account all points of view. If this is the case, then the above examples are given as an illustration of how one does that. The opinions and facts are presented "cold" and the readers are expected to deal with them in their own way.

This type of exemplifying quotation sometimes contains openly emotive passages, such as the following passage from a Nazi writer:

54 Meine Pädagogik ist hart. Das Schwache muß weggehämmert werden. . . . Eine gewalttätige, herrische, unerschrockene, grausame Jugend will ich. Jugend muß das alles sein. Schmerzen muß sie ertragen. Es darf nichts Schwaches und Zärtliches an ihr sein. Das freie, herrliche Raubtier muß erst wieder aus ihren Augen blitzen. (G&P, p 225)

This is intended to contrast with what the children know at first hand about the contemporary education system, and to provoke discussion. It occurs in a chapter on young people in society, where all sorts of issues from past and present are discussed on the basis of the following statement which stands as an introduction to this section:

55 Aber was ist das eigentlich, 'die Jugend'? Gesetze und

Recht geben hierauf bei uns wie in anderen Kulturen eine Antwort: die Ärzte geben darauf eine, nämlich ihre Antwort; und die Psychologen geben ebenfalls eine Antwort: und so die Soziologen, und, und, und . . . Und schließlich auch die Politiker . . . (G&P, p 222)

The issues discussed include the reducing of the age of majority to eighteen, consumerism among young people, the problems of alcoholism and drugs, and youth in the GDR: again, each person's or period's opinion is presented as one among many. Nothing is absolute, and despite - or possibly because of - the emotiveness of the language in the Nazi extract above, the authors do not expect to inflame their readers with feelings of total agreement and loyalty.

Finally, Reiß states that propaganda texts are not purely persuasive, but that they contain a certain amount of information too, which in its turn contains some emotive features:

Sachliche Information und Argumentation können in keinem Propagandatext fehlen, wenn sich der Textautor nicht ausschließlich auf bare Demagogie verläßt . . . Trotzdem wird die Willensentscheidung nicht nur durch sie beeinflusst; die spezielle Appellwirksamkeit, die Herbeiführung der Disposition des Hörers oder Lesers zur antwortenden Tat wird ganz bewußt auf dem Weg über den Appell an die Effekte, die Emotionen, die irrationale Be-Wertung angestrebt. (Reiß (1976:48))

Informative elements in the GDR texts include the following:
biographical details of exemplary workers or leading Party members; these include Grotewohl (7/34), Pieck (7/34), a farmer (7/63), Honecker (8/22), Stoph (8/71), Sindermann (8/74), young members of parliament (8/86) - and Marx and Engels (9/8);
quotations from workers on their achievements and political convictions: these include Hennecke (7/41), a factory worker (10/104), a Daimler-Benz worker at the end of the war (7/39), and a concrete worker (8/40);
quotations from the political classics, including Lenin (8/18, 61, 63, 85; 9/52, 59, 87; 10/12, 48, 103, 133, 135, 139), Marx (9/10, 17; 10/71, 156), Engels (9/10), particularly the Communist Manifesto (9/10, 26, 27, 39, 48, 51, 53; 10/134);
extracts from the Constitution (8/10, 33, 45, 52, 55, 67, 72, 75), laws (8/38, 89, 92, 94), international treaties (7/85, 10/28); speeches by contemporary politicians (8/47, 63), quotations from Neues Deutschland (7/57, 63, 64, 76, 84; 8/90, 93, 94, 96, 100, 102, 106, 112 etc);

and some extracts from western sources intended to demonstrate how bad the situation is in capitalist states (7/77, 78; 10/49). Although the quotations from the laws and constitution could be regarded as emotively neutral in that they are actual legal documents rather than texts written by the authors of the books themselves, their use could also be said to contribute to emotivity, in that only those parts are quoted which are likely to strike a chord with the children, and the documents themselves are, to some extent, written in an emotive fashion, eg:

56 "Alle Macht dient dem Wohl des Volkes. Sie sichert sein friedliches Leben, schützt die sozialistische Gesellschaft und gewährleistet die sozialistische Lebensweise der Bürger, die freie Entwicklung des Menschen, wahrt seine Würde und garantiert die in dieser Verfassung verbürgten Rechte." (Artikel 4 unserer Verfassung) (8/45) (See also Gilbertson (1981a:85f); Gilbertson (1981b:97f) on emotive and evaluative aspects of the language of legal texts)

There are numerous diagrams and illustrations summarising what has been said in the texts and forming the basis of exercises to be done by the pupils. These mainly fall into the following subject categories: improvements in the GDR, for example in agriculture (7/55), collectivisation (7/49), schools (8/97), education spending (8/51), income (8/48), housing (8/40), industry (8/7, 13, 34), number of workers (9/47); general conditions in the GDR, for example consumption (7/66; 10/74, 121), income (7/67; 8/113), imports (10/46), mechanisation (7/58), culture (8/97), number of Kindergartens (8/97), social structure (8/14), structure of the SED (8/21) and the Volkskammer (8/65), worker co-determination (10/138); the workers, for example their achievements (8/31), education (8/28), Neuerer (8/11); the increase of Socialism and Communism in the world (9/54); the evil nature of Capitalism, for example inflation (9/41; 10/23), armaments spending (8/103), neo-colonialism (7/8), unemployment (8/96), growth as compared with that in Socialist states (7/10); the change in the power-structure of the world (7/7; 8/36).

All these features, while not necessarily being at all emotive in themselves but merely reflecting historical facts, serve the purpose of increasing emotive engagement in the pupils by the contribution they make to the Parteilichkeit of the texts. There are never any diagrams which show a negative development in the GDR or a positive one in

capitalist states, and none of the graphs are sufficiently controversial to provoke any real discussion. We return to this point in our discussion of questions and tasks below.

Unlike in the GDR books, the graphs and diagrams in the FRG books are not intended simply to praise the "home" system and denigrate all others, but are there to illustrate points made in the text or to start a discussion. For example, Gesellschaft und Politik contains diagrams showing the number of foreign workers in the FRG (G&P, p 247), the number of holidays per year in the EEC (G&P, p 240), and on the amount of money spent on holidays (G&P, p 236). There are some caricatures which do give a judgement, such as the one in Thema Politik which shows a Third World country being fed with one hand by an industrialised country and strangled with the other hand. No comment is made on the picture, although a similar line is followed in the text, which reads thus:

57 . . . Absicht ausländischer Unternehmen ist es . . . nicht in erster Linie, die Entwicklung eines Landes voranzutreiben. Vielmehr wollen sie wirtschaftlichen Erfolg haben, d.h. Gewinne machen. (TP, p 112)

Again, nothing is said as to the morality or otherwise of this.

Another cartoon shows a South American peasant sitting under a wall on which slogans supporting various politicians have been written, each name being crossed out when the person was overthrown and replaced by a new one. The following is addressed to the reader:

58 Der Zeichner gab seiner Karikatur den Titel "Veränderungen in der Pampa". Was hat sich verändert? Was blieb? (TP, p 109)

This does give a judgement, albeit not explicitly, namely that while governments may come and go in South America, nothing changes for the poor; however, many people would regard this as a fact rather than an ideological statement.

2.4 Case Study

As an illustration of the differing approaches of the FRG and the GDR to a topic, and of the resultant differing text-types, we offer an analysis of a short extract from each set of texts dealing with the system of the market economy. It is not surprising that the authors of the GDR text evaluate this topic negatively and seek to condemn it,

and this text provides a good illustration of Parteilichkeit. It might be expected that the FRG would offer a positive evaluation of a market economy, but this was found not to be unequivocally the case. The extracts used were GDR book 9, p 42-3, and Thema Politik, p 127-8; these are reproduced in full at the end of this thesis.

The GDR text contained approximately 350 words, the FRG text approximately 540. It was not felt that this difference in length was significant, since the shorter GDR text in fact contained a great number of features typical of an operative text. The GDR text formed a subsection of a part of a chapter on capitalism entitled Die Unterordnung des gesamten gesellschaftlichen Lebens unter die Profitinteressen der Bourgeoisie; this was part of the running text of the book for the 9th class. The FRG text occurred in the information section of Thema Politik, ie it was not part of the "discussion" section of the book, but was intended as a general definition for reference purposes. The average number of words per sentence in the FRG texts was 16.4 (ranging from 4-34), and in the GDR texts 20.6 (12-39). Whilst the sentences in the GDR texts were longer, the average number of clauses per sentence was lower, 1.4 as against 2.2 in the FRG text. This suggests that the GDR sentences contain relatively simple syntax, which Reiß discerns as a typical feature of an operative text. We return to this issue in the section on cohesion below.

The importance of Parteilichkeit in the GDR texts has been discussed in an earlier section. The major way in which this is achieved is through emotive language, which Reiß regards as a defining feature of an operative text. The GDR text on the market economy is entitled Das Wolfsgesetz der kapitalistischen Konkurrenz, a phrase which can be assigned immediately to Reiß' categories of emotive and evaluative-denigratory language, partiality and invective, unusual compound, imagery and hyperbole. The title clearly is intended to colour the attitude of the reader to the topic even before the text itself begins. This contrasts with the title of the FRG text, which is simply Marktwirtschaft and contains no emotive or evaluative components. Emotive language is extremely common throughout the GDR text, and a (negative) evaluation of the market economy is a concomitant feature of this:

Um die Profite zu erhöhen und Vorteile gegenüber den Konkurrenten zu erlangen, wird die Ausbeutung der Arbeiter durch Lohnabbau, Verschlechterung der Sicherheitsvor-

richtungen, kapitalistische Rationalisierung usw.
gnadenlos verschärft.

Superlatives and hyperbole are common: ein Kampf auf Leben und Tod, die Kapitalisten verhalten sich wie Wölfe, höchstmögliche Profite, ununterbrochener Konkurrenzkampf, ungeheure Opfer. The imagery of (military) struggle is exemplified in ein Kampf auf Leben und Tod. Pathos is also very common in the GDR texts and is clearly intended to evoke sympathy in the reader: rund 900 000 bäuerliche Existenzen blieben auf der Strecke. It is unclear precisely what this means: the implication is clearly that the farmers were totally ruined and their lives finished, possibly literally. No mention is made of those that survived, or that the decline of agriculture is widespread in the developed countries - including the GDR. The round figure given is easily assimilated by the reader, but no reference is given as to the source of the figure and it is impossible to check its accuracy. This is a very common feature of the GDR texts. We return to this issue in more detail in the section on Testability below.

Other emotive and untestable statements occur in the following sentences:

Der heutige Kapitalismus hat seine menschheitsfeindliche Eigenschaft über Unsicherheit und Erschütterungen hinaus bis zu Weltkriegen, nationalen Katastrophen, Ausrottung oder Dezimierung ganzer Völker durch Hunger und systematischen Völkermord gesteigert. Das Verbrechen an der Menschheit wurde zum ständigen Wesenszug der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft.

There are no precise details of the events referred to here, or even of the time-scale involved: it is unclear precisely when heute refers to, or to the period covered by wurde.

Similarly, statistics are given regarding the distribution of wealth in the FRG, but again no reference is given which would enable them to be checked. Moreover, the figures given do not add up to 100% - the emotive impact of the contrast between 0.02% of the population who are richer than the other 99.8% together is somewhat reduced by this not uncommon printing error (11).

As noted above, a non-emotive feature that Reiß views as typical of operative texts is references to real life. In this text there is a reference to the takeover of Neckermann by Karstadt, an event which is said to illustrate the merciless competitive struggle of a market economy. Whilst these names are familiar to readers acquainted with

the Federal Republic it is less likely that they will be well-known to GDR school-children, and as a result of this their reaction is likely to be one of rejection, since they will regard the names simply as examples of capitalist "bogeymen" and will not be able to relate to them on a personal level. In this respect even proper names can be regarded as containing emotive-evaluative components.

There is much less emotivity in the FRG text; the authors are continually at pains to make it clear that they are dealing with das reine Modell der Marktwirtschaft rather than other versions which may exist in reality, and that events which would occur in the pure situation are tempered by various means in order to protect the mass of society. The existence of such institutions as the Kartellamt, social security and consumer protection, whilst not mentioned explicitly, are hinted at. There is not even this hint of them in the GDR text, which implies that there are no protective measures at all. Even where the GDR text appears to be using a neutral term (Konkurrenten ausschalten), there is still the implication that what they do and the method of their doing it are dishonourable (12).

In the FRG text evaluation occurs of the "model" version of the market economy in connection with industrial concentration:

Solche Großunternehmen haben so viel wirtschaftliche und politische Macht, daß sie allein oder mit wenigen anderen Großunternehmern willkürlich die Preise für ihre Produkte bestimmen können . . . Zudem besteht die Gefahr, daß nicht das produziert wird, was den Bedürfnissen der Menschen entspricht, sondern das, was die größten Gewinne verspricht;

and in connection with uncontrolled advertising:

Wenn aber manipulierende Werbung mit Tricks versucht, die Verbraucher zum Kauf eines ganz bestimmten Produkts zu überreden, dann ist sie eine Gefahr. (emphasis in original)

A kind of evaluation is found in phrases such as the following:

Außerdem ist es notwendig, daß der Käufer den Markt überschauen und die Angebote vergleichen kann;

Werbung ist in der Marktwirtschaft notwendig, um die Verbraucher über das Angebot zu informieren.

However, these reflect less the opinion of the authors/authorities than the generally accepted definition of what constitutes a market economy, and the language used is not emotive or evaluative itself. Similarly, the use of a question as a subheading to a section offering a "prescription" for success is different from its usage in the GDR texts:

the heading Unter welchen Voraussetzungen kann das Modell der Marktwirtschaft funktionieren? envisages the possibility that in some contexts a market economy would fail. GDR questions such as Was ist Kommunismus? (the only subheading in all four books in the form of a question) have, on the other hand, only one possible answer.

A more overt evaluation is found in the following sentence from the FRG text, although even here nothing is stated explicitly:

Die Entscheidung darüber, welche Produktionsfaktoren wo eingesetzt werden, wird in der Marktwirtschaft nicht von einer staatlichen Stelle, sondern von den einzelnen Unternehmensleitungen getroffen.

There has not yet been in this book any discussion of a centrally-planned economy, but a detailed discussion of centrally-planned economies follows immediately after the section on market economies. The juxtaposition here of staatliche Stelle with nicht may be intended to give it a negative value and to emphasise the role played by individual firms. The cohesion in this sentence is remarkable - staatliche Stellen have not previously been mentioned, and the denial of their role in the economy appears unnecessary. We discuss the issue of cohesion in more detail in a separate section below.

Both texts contain a number of specialist terms, which Reiß regards as typical features of operative texts. In the context of the present investigation specialist terms must be regarded rather as an integral part of the informational component of the text, but the fact that many of the specialist terms, especially in the GDR texts, are also evaluative, must not be lost sight of. Examples from the GDR text include: die BRD (always negative); die Arbeiterklasse (positive); der Konkurrenzkampf (negative); die Konzentration (negative in the present context); kapitalistische Rationalisierung (negative); die Ausbeutung (negative). The FRG text contains the following examples: Angebot und Nachfrage (neutral/positive); Produktionsfaktoren (neutral); Wettbewerb/Konkurrenz (neutral/positive); Markttransparenz (positive); Konzentration (negative); Marktübersicht (positive).

These evaluations contained in the above terms are presented in fundamentally different ways. In the FRG texts a certain distance is created between the writer and the texts; this is achieved partly through the repeated emphasis that the authors are dealing with an idealised model rather than reality, a device which is intended to

enable the reader also to withdraw slightly from the text and regard it as only partly factual. This is reinforced by the use of the subjunctive, as in the following sentence:

Ginge man vom reinen Modell der Marktwirtschaft aus, dann müßte zB ein Kranker ohne Vermögen und Familienhilfe verhungern.

The authors also use the device of interpolated synonyms or paraphrase:

Marktwirtschaft kann nur funktionieren, wenn Wettbewerb (Konkurrenz) herrscht.

Außerdem ist es notwendig, daß der Käufer den Markt überschauen und die Angebote vergleichen kann (Markttransparenz).

This fulfils the multiple aim of: introducing a new technical term; resolving possible comprehension-problems; showing the reader that there can be more than one term for a phenomenon and thus, by implication, more than one attitude to it. (See the section on Testability for a more detailed discussion of the problematisation of language).

There is no such distancing in the GDR text: the evaluations are presented as irrefutable facts which can only be regarded in this one particular way, and the imprecision of much of the language, and the fact that the statistical information given cannot be tested, contribute to the self-contained and self-defining nature of the text.

Prescription as to how the reader is to react to a statement is rare in the FRG texts; the nearest approach to it here occurs in the discussion of a hypothetical slump in the shoe-industry:

Jetzt - so kann man annehmen - wandern Arbeit und Kapital in Produktionsbereiche ab, wo durch stärkere Nachfrage der Verbraucher die Preise der Produkte höher sind . . .

Through the use of inclusive man the readers are told what they are to assume; this includes them in the prevailing system and demonstrates firstly the normal sequence of events in a market economy, and secondly the normal or accepted way of reasoning and deducing one event from that preceding it. Despite this, however, kann contains an implicit muß nicht, and annehmen shows that this is hypothesis rather than fact, and so cannot be binding.

We have discussed above Reiß' view that the use of antithesis is a typical feature of operative texts; this is very common in the GDR texts and one which we feel is central. The contrast is constantly drawn between the GDR (good) and the FRG (bad). This is seen in the

text under discussion with the identification of the FRG with capitalism.

This does not occur in the FRG texts; when contrasts are drawn there are often more than two points of view given, not simply one "black" and one "white", and no overt prescription is given as to which point of view the reader should adopt. (We present a more detailed discussion of this point in the section on Testability below).

2.5 Conclusion

We have demonstrated in this section that there are fundamental differences between the school textbooks from the FRG and the GDR, which are a result of the differing ideologies underlying the respective education systems. We have shown that the GDR textbooks contain more features of what Reiß terms an operative text than do the FRG books; this means that they contain several features which are also typical of propaganda texts. We have discussed some aspects of the language of the two sets of texts which confirm that the differences in Hallidayan mode and tenor are reflected in the language. In the rest of the analyses in Part III of the thesis, we discuss other features of the lexis and the syntax of the two sets of texts which further confirm this original differentiation, and demonstrate that the GDR texts serve to create a closed universe within which the options of the reader are strictly circumscribed. Wagner writes in this regard:

. . . all public language in the DDR is used in the service of the prevalent ideology and therefore exhibits characteristics of the language of propaganda. (H Wagner (1981:27))

In 1955 Werner wrote that people find pleasure in returning to the "primitive" type of language used in politics and propaganda, even down to the level of "senseless shouting" (1955:45), since this type of language is reminiscent of that used in childhood, which is only painfully lost as part of the transition to adult language. He wrote further that it is precisely because this transition is so painful that people are relieved to return to the earlier type of language and that

The pleasure derived from a return to primitive language is actually the bribe that the propagandist offers his audience in exchange for their right to exercise their critical intelligence (Werner (1955:45))

Ellul writes similarly that if one is educated and develops one's critical faculties within an atmosphere of propaganda, it is very difficult to move away from that propaganda (Ellul (1973:107f)); he writes further that people prefer not to have to think too deeply about political issues, and tend to ignore politics altogether if exposed to too much propaganda, thus giving those with political power the freedom to act as they wish (Ellul (1973:189f)).

According to these views, GDR schoolchildren would be seen as being subjected to a less painful transition to adult language than the FRG pupils, since the adult language of the GDR is more political/propagandistic in nature and so contains more "childish" features. As a concomitant of this the "critical intelligence" of the GDR pupils would be seen as being developed to a less high degree than that of the FRG pupils, resulting in a reduced capacity for independent thought.

Whilst one must remain wary of drawing too sweeping or precise political and psychological conclusions in a thesis that is concerned with language, it is clear that the type of text used for political education in the GDR is generally accepted as provoking a different type of reaction from its readers than typical FRG texts. We are, as already stated, unable to test the effects of exposure to the respective schoolbooks on pupils in the two German states, but the differing intentions of the authors and the likely effects on the reader emerge clearly from our discussions above. Whilst the two sets of textbooks belong to the same Textsorte, they fulfil different functions and thus belong ultimately to different text-types. We continue our analyses of the texts in the light of this insight in the rest of Part III, discussing them from the point of view of each of Halliday's macrofunctions.

Notes

- 1 These differences can be tabulated thus:

field: pedagogic - the teaching of schoolchildren
- about politics/economics/sociology
- for the purpose of enabling them to participate in political life

tenor: unequal, formal: teacher as expert, pupils as novices
- leading to superior/inferior role relationship

BUT: teacher not challengeable in GDR; FRG pupils have greater scope for questioning and for forming opinions

mode: written. (We ignore here the spoken language used in the classroom and concentrate exclusively on the written language in the textbooks).
Didactic, explanatory, informative, challenging, serious, feedback, question-and-answer, correction of error.

BUT: the type of question found, the perception of what constitutes an error, and the type of information available differ radically between the two sets of texts.

(Tabulation based on Halliday (1974a:52-3))

- 2 See Reiß (1977:98). See also Good (1975:10) on the fundamental differences of type between the German language of the FRG and that of the GDR.
- 3 For a discussion of the language of religious texts, see for example Kaempfert (1972) *passim*.
- 4 See for example the following extract:
Sind die Grundrechte so eindeutig, daß man über ihre Auslegung und Anwendung nicht verschiedener Meinung sein kann? Denkt an die Bedeutung und die Diskussion im Zusammenhang mit der "elterlichen Gewalt".
(G&P, p 148)
- 5 See for example the following quotation:
. . . die Lernziele haben sich daran zu orientieren, über welche Qualifikationen, Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten, aber auch über welche Einsichten und Kenntnisse Schüler verfügen müssen, um sich in der entsprechenden Situation problemlösend verhalten zu können. (Hesse, Entwurf:6)
- 6 From the huge amount of work available on emotive language, see for example the following: Riesel (1967) *passim*; Hopster (1970:17f); Ulshöfer (1971:122-3); Michel (1972:111f); Harris (1973) *passim*; Keßler (1973:264); Hartung (1974:452f, 502f); W Schneider (1976:115f); Fleischer (1977:84f, 129f); Rumpf (1979:118f); Gilbertson (1981a:85f, 250f); Gilbertson (1981b: 97f).

7 The following example is similar:

Wenn der Besitz in andere Hände übergeht, gehören auch die Menschen dazu, die dort leben . . . Herr ist, wer den Boden besitzt und damit Autorität verkörpert . . . Der Besitzer . . . erließ für seine Arbeiter und Pächter zwölf Gebote, die es unter anderem verbieten:

- Waffen zu tragen, gleich welcher Art,
- alkoholische Getränke zu sich zu nehmen,
- Karten oder irgendwelche Glücksspiele zu spielen,
- außerhalb von Irapuru Markt abzuhalten oder zu besuchen,
- mit dem Nachbarn oder irgendeiner anderen Person zu streiten,
- Krankenbesuche zu machen,
- ohne die Genehmigung des Besitzers Feste zu veranstalten,
- über andere zu klatschen,
- Krankheiten vorzutäuschen, um nicht arbeiten zu müssen.

Wer gegen eines der Gebote verstößt, muß binnen 24 Stunden vom Land . . . verschwinden. Oder er verschwindet unfreiwillig . . . (TP, p 108-9)

In the section dealing with industrialisation and distribution of wealth in Brazil, there are some implicit judgements in the texts quoted (NB these are not written by the authors of Thema Politik, but are used for purposes of information, unlike the quotations in Gesellschaft und Politik, which serve mainly to illustrate the variety of opinions connected with each topic).

8 See for example TP, p 134f, where unterschiedliche Auffassungen von Demokratie are discussed on the basis of the systems of government of the FRG and the GDR. Also G&P, p 112, where representative democracy in government is discussed, p 172ff on the democratisation of industry, p 63 on democracy and education.

9 For information on the development of the language of the GDR, especially the influence of foreign loan-words, see for example the following: Koepp (1955); Werder (1957); Korntner (1959); Dahlberg (1960); Ihlenburg (1964); Lehmann (1971); Wood (1971).

10 But see the following contrasting examples:

Wir wissen, daß der Sozialismus siegt und der Kapitalismus zum Untergang verurteilt ist. Was gibt uns diese Gewißheit? Der Übergang vom Kapitalismus zum Sozialismus vollzieht sich nicht zufällig . . . (7/9)

Gibt es für die marxistisch-leninistischen Parteien Kriterien für die richtigen Bündnispartner? Jede Klasse . . . hat objektive materielle Interessen . . . (9/56)

In welcher Weise kämpfen in der Gegenwart die kommunistischen Parteien zusammen? Sie kämpfen gemeinsam . . . (10/35)

These are very rare examples of the use of rhetorical questions in the GDR texts.

- 11 There are several other printing errors and factual inaccuracies in both sets of books, including the following: die totbringenden Waffen (7/12) and:
Um den Mißbrauch solcher Macht zu verhindern, hat es seit 1945 in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland viele Pläne zur Mitbestimmung der Arbeitnehmer gegeben.
(TP, p 133)
- 12 The use of emotively and evaluatively neutral terms to refer to illegal or violent events, as a means of diminishing their severity or affecting people's perception of them is well-known, as in the use by the US during the Vietnam war of childish terms such as 'gooks' to refer to the Vietcong, or 'unacceptable taint' to mean a reputation for brutality as a result of killing too many people in too ferocious a manner. See Ohmann (1976) for a general discussion of this issue; also Harris (1973:29). The term ausschalten is being used here in a similar way.

3 The ideational component: classification

We use the term "Classification" to denote the choice of words employed by users of a language to refer to entities and processes in the extralinguistic world. It is widely believed that the lexical content of an utterance can influence the attitude of the receiver of an utterance to the information contained in it, without there necessarily being any overt evaluation in the utterance. In this regard Trew writes as follows:

The linguistic correlate of judgement is the selection of options from paradigms - ie from interrelated nets of interrelated words available for discourse about a given field. Just as judgement is the active bringing to bear of the system of concepts constituting a theory, so too the linguistic correlate of judgement is the actual process of classifying and categorising. (Trew (1978:54)) (1)

Good writes similarly thus:

Klassifizierung ist ein erster Schritt in der sprachlichen Strukturierung der außersprachlichen Wirklichkeit. Sie ist somit ein überaus ideologischer Akt, denn die begriffliche Struktur, die durch diesen Akt entsteht, bildet eben die Wirklichkeit, in der der Mensch lebt. In Texten entstehen gleichsam sekundäre Welten, in denen neue begriffliche Strukturen entstehen oder aber alte bestätigt werden. (Good (1983:23)) (2)

The influence that lexical choice can have on receiver-perception is recognised not only in linguistics, but also in psychology (Taylor (1976:285f)); this influence commonly affects the evaluation of an entity by the receiver. Mackensen (1973:55) quotes the evaluative difference between saying that someone has been eingesperrt and that they are being bestraft, and the difference between terrorists and freedom fighters, and the intention behind renaming the Ministry of War the Ministry of Defence, or the Propaganda Ministry the Ministry of Information, is equally clear (see Leinfellner (1971:28); Taylor (1976:285f); Fowler et al (1979:8)).

Just as it is possible to evoke different responses in a receiver by employing different terms to denote the same entity, so it is also possible, by applying the same label to disparate entities, to cause them to be perceived as the same (Waller (1972:18); Taylor (1976:285f); Fowler (1977a:40); Fowler et al (1979:155)).

In this thesis we are concerned with the use of language in the

political socialisation of juveniles, and it is clear that the terminology which these people encounter in their textbooks can have an influence on their subsequent attitudes to the people and entities referred to: if a particular term with a particular denotative and evaluative content is employed to refer to a particular entity, it is very likely that this content will be absorbed and adopted by the pupils, the more so if the term is frequently repeated (Cramer (1968: 115f); Kress and Hodge (1979:62f)). This is part of the development of political communicative competence that is necessary if people are to function as full members of society, and the successful acquisition of which can lead to a feeling of solidarity and belonging (see Kress and Hodge (1979:38, 64)).

In this section we discuss the terminology used in the two sets of texts to refer to working people and other social groups closely associated with them, and in particular we consider the agency patterns of this terminology and the picture these create of the status of working people in the real world. We thus restrict our discussion largely to the use of nouns, but clearly what we have stated above applies also to other word classes (see W Schmidt and Harnisch (1972: 103); Dik (1978:55f); Kress and Hodge (1979:79f)). We also leave out of account the diachronic aspect and the changing evaluation of terms.

On the linguistic classification of people and the assigning of them to varying positions of power (or lack of power) Edelman writes:

Categorisation is a necessary tool to science and, indeed, to all perception. It is also a political tool, establishing status and power hierarchies. We ordinarily assume that a classification scheme is either scientific or political in character, but any category can serve either or both functions, depending on the interests of those who employ it rather than on anything inherent in the term. The name for a category therefore confuses the two functions, consigning people to high or low status and power while drawing legitimacy from its scientific status.

Any categorisation scheme that consigns people to niches according to their actual or potential accomplishments or behaviour is bound to be political, no matter what its scientific function. IQs; psychiatric labels; typologies of talent, skills or knowledge; employment statuses; criminal statuses; personality types - all exemplify the point. Regardless of their validity and reliability (which are notoriously low) or their analytic uses, such classifications rank people and determine degrees of status and of influence. (Edelman (1977:62); see also p 110; Halliday (1967a:26); Ohmann (1976:194); Fowler (1977a:43); Kress and Hodge (1979: 15); Fowler (1980:7)).

The choice of terms used to classify working people and other groups associated with them is clearly an area where language and ideology interact closely, and is thus pertinent to our present purpose.

3.1 Number

A fundamental means of classification that can reveal sender-attitude is the use of number, ie whether things and people are regarded as individuals or en masse, as a unit or as a collection of separate identities. In an investigation of short extracts from the two sets of texts dealing with work and working people we obtained the results described below. The text samples were GDR book 9, p 45-51; TP, p 116-8, and G&P, p 167-8; the number of sentences in the GDR extracts was 88, the FRG total was 90.

3.1.1 The FRG

In the FRG texts there were in total 23 terms used to denote working people, of which the most frequent were Arbeitnehmer with 17 occurrences and Gewerkschaften with 11. Of these 23 terms, 2 were singular, 16 plural and 5 collective. The singular terms were der Fachmann and der Einzelne, used in a generic rather than a particular sense. The plural terms, which included the single most common term Arbeitnehmer, were as follows:

Angestellte, Arbeiter, Arbeitnehmer, Beamte, Berufstätige, Beschäftigte, Betriebsangehörige, Erwerbstätige, Händler, Handwerker, Hausfrauen, Landwirte, Mitglieder (der Gewerkschaft), Unselbständige, Verbraucher, Verkäufer.

The collective terms were as follows:

Arbeitnehmerschaft, Belegschaftsvertretung, Gewerkschaften, Interessenverbände (der Arbeitnehmer), untere und mittlere Einkommensgruppen.

It thus appears that in the FRG texts working people are most frequently presented as individuals acting en masse, fairly frequently as collective groups from which all individuality has disappeared, and very rarely as individuals in their own right.

The terms used to denote employers in the FRG texts were all either plural or collective. The plural terms were as follows:

Arbeitgeber, (selbständige) Industrieunternehmer, Selbst-
ändige, Unternehmer.

There were three collective terms:

Arbeitgeberseite, Arbeitgeberverbände, Betriebsführung.

Of these, the first two are taken from the context of wage negotiations and other employer-employee talks: it emerges thus that when the employers are dealt with in their own right rather than in terms of their relationship with the employees, they are more frequently depicted as individuals each performing similar functions, than as a mass of people acting collectively (see Fowler (1980:9)).

In addition to the terms listed above, two others occurred which referred to both employers and employees together. These were beide Teile and die Vertragsparteien. The occurrence of these terms demonstrates the importance of the view of industrial relations in terms of Sozialpartnerschaft rather than of class war. We discuss this issue in more detail in the section below on the agency of the terminology used.

3.1.2 The GDR

The distribution of terms referring to employers and employees in the GDR texts was similar to that in the FRG texts, in that singular terms were least common, plural the most common, and collectives in an intermediate position. Of terms referring to the workers, the distribution was as follows:

singular: Arbeiter;

plural: Arbeiter, Arbeitskollegen, Arbeitskräfte, Bauern,
Einzelhändler, Gewerbetreibende, Händler, Handwerker,
Lohnarbeiter, mittlere und kleine Unternehmer,
Proletarier, Unterdrückte, Verbündete, Werktätige;

collective: Arbeiterklasse, Arbeitermassen, Gewerkschaften,
Klasse, Klassen und Schichten, Proletariat, die
werktätigen Massen.

We included in the category "collective" the terms Klasse and Klassen und Schichten, since these were used frequently as part of a longer phrase to denote working people, as in the following examples:

1 Das Proletariat ist die zahlenmäßig stärkste Klasse und die einzige Klasse der kapitalistische Gesellschaft, die ständig wächst. (9/46)

2 Die Interessen der Arbeiterklasse stimmen objektiv mit den Grundinteressen der übrigen ausgebeuteten Klassen und Schichten überein. (9/49)

By far the commonest term of those listed above was Arbeiterklasse, which occurred 45 times in 88 sentences; this was followed by Klasse, Arbeiter and Klassen und Schichten. Thus although there were more plural types used in the texts, the commonest token was in fact a collective which alone outnumbered all the plural tokens together.

The terms referring to the employers were as follows:

singular: Unternehmer;
plural: kapitalistische Ausbeuter, Kapitalisten;
collective: Bourgeoisie, Monopole.

Of these, the most common was Bourgeoisie; as with the workers, the most frequent way of referring to employers was as a collective rather than as individuals. This reflects the ML view of the collective as being at least as important as the individual (3), and of the importance of social and historical forces rather than of particular individuals.

3.1.3 Conclusion

Whilst it is difficult and dangerous to draw general conclusions from such a small sample, we can summarise this investigation as follows: whilst, as could be expected, people in the GDR texts are presented en masse in line with the ideology, the same is true of the FRG texts. This is somewhat unexpected, in view of the emphasis on freedom of and respect for the individual so often heard in western political speeches. The reason for this collective use here could be that, when discussing specifically economic issues, it is necessary for the writers of the text to use the contemporary jargon of that discipline, in which the ideology consists to a large extent of viewing society as a system of interacting groups. This type of language may have been adopted unconsciously whilst economic texts were being adapted for school use, a fact which suggests that the authors of the schoolbooks have to a large extent absorbed the language and the world-view enshrined in it. It must also be borne in mind that approximately half the FRG texts used in the present analysis were written by people who shared the world-view of the unions; these would possibly be more likely to use language similar to that of the GDR as a result of their more left-wing beliefs, than might other FRG writers.

3.2 Agency patterns in the terminology of the FRG texts

Central terms in the FRG text referring to workers and employers are Arbeitnehmer and Arbeitgeber. Both terms are agentive, depicting both groups involved in independent action; in neither case are the people seen as reacting to an external initiator or as being affected by the actions of others, as is the case for example with the term Beschäftigte. The issues of who or what is the beneficiary of Arbeitgeber, and the source of work of the Arbeitnehmer, are not made explicit, although the implication is clearly that the two groups support and help each other, the reciprocal and balanced nature of the relationship being shown in the use of the antonyms nehmen and geben. This is in accordance with the view propagated by the ruling group in the FRG that the relationship between workers and employers is - or should be - one of Partnerschaft, that both groups are equally important in the running of society, and that harmony between them is possible and necessary in order to ensure uninterrupted production and economic stability (4).

Whilst Arbeitnehmer and Arbeitgeber are the most common individual terms for these two groups, they relatively rarely appear together. Arbeitnehmer is frequently replaced by Gewerkschaft, as in the following examples:

- 3 Über sieben Monate hatten die Verhandlungen zwischen den Arbeitgebern und den Gewerkschaften in diesem Tarifgebiet gedauert. (G&P, p 33)
- 4 Wie von einem Vertreter der IG Chemie später erklärt wurde, haben die Arbeitgeber angeboten, mit der Gewerkschaft Abkommen über eine Jahresleistungsprämie sowie über den Schutz gegen Rationalisierungsschäden zu vereinbaren. (G&P, p 33)
- 5 Die Arbeitgeber jedoch befürchten einen zu großen Gewerkschaftseinfluß. (TP, p 133)

Here Gewerkschaft appears to be being used as a synonym for Arbeitnehmer, which begs the questions as to whether all workers are union members, and whether all those who are employed take an active part in union affairs. The intention is clearly to depict a view of industrial relations in which everybody belongs to and supports the existing institutions and machinery, and where any dispute is easily settled. The following is an example of this type of usage, where Gewerkschaften are seen as a subgroup of Arbeitnehmer in general, belonging to but not identical with them:

- 6 Nach einer Woche schon setzten sich Arbeitgeber und
Vertreter der Arbeitnehmer, Gewerkschaftler also,
wieder zusammen und handelten einen Kompromiß aus.
Der Streik ging zu Ende. (G&P, p 34)

The collective-- and abstract - noun Gewerkschaft presents the workers as a united and harmonious group, rather than as a collection of individuals with their own desires and motivations. There is moreover no obvious agency-role in the term Gewerkschaft; it is simply a social grouping.

In fact, only approximately 40% of FRG workers are members of unions (see Childs and Johnson (1981:69)), so the equating in the examples above of workers and unions is a distortion of reality. In the context of industrial relations this equating of the two groups can be explained by the bargaining role played by the unions on behalf of all workers, where all workers, whether union-members or not, are affected by the outcome of negotiations, wage-agreements etc. However, in the broader context of the economy in general the equating of workers and unions is less easily explained, and it leaves undiscussed the voluntary nature of union membership, thus giving the reader an unbalanced view of the world of work in terms of homogeneous groups which co-operate with and counterbalance each other - a view that is desirable from the point of view of those who decide education policy, but hardly an accurate reflection of reality.

An alternative term frequently used for Arbeitgeber is Unternehmer:

- 7 Wenn Unternehmer Fehlentscheidungen treffen (zB ihre
Produktion nicht rechtzeitig auf neue Produkte umstellen)
und dadurch Betriebe in Konkurs gehen, dann sind immer
auch die Arbeitnehmer betroffen: sie verlieren ihren
Arbeitsplatz. (TP, p 133)

- 8 Die Unternehmer brachten eine Reihe von Einwänden gegen
die Gewinnbeteiligung der Arbeitnehmer vor. (G&P, p 167)

This term, unlike Gewerkschaft, retains its agentive nature; moreover, the people involved are still seen as individuals rather than as a collective. It may be that this latter fact is of no great ideological significance, since usually there is one identifiable head to each firm, whilst there is a large number of workers, which makes it easier to see the entrepreneur in an individual light; it is also possible, however, that the depicting of the employers as individuals and of the employed as an undifferentiated mass will suggest to the reader firstly a solidarity and uniformity among the latter that is not

present among the former (reflecting the virtue of competition in a market economy), but also a lack of individual initiative among the workers that is not necessarily the case.

The competitive and dynamic nature of employers/entrepreneurs is underlined by the use of the agentive noun to denote them. Moreover, the term Unternehmer suggests not only independent action, but also independent initiation of that action; the equating of Arbeitgeber with Unternehmer thus suggests that all those who pay others to work for them are also engaged in innovative or beneficent activities - the term Unternehmer always has a positive evaluation in the school textbooks. This can be said to distort the picture of employers in two senses: firstly, not all employers are engaged in opening up and developing new areas of the economy, and secondly, the suggestion that all employers are more dynamic, physically or psychologically, than the people who work for them, is clearly inaccurate.

3.2.1 The workers

Whilst the term Arbeitnehmer is the most frequent term used in the FRG books to denote working people, there are also a number of other terms with the same referent. The list below shows some of the most common of these, in descending order of frequency (5).

Arbeiter	Proletariat	Arbeiterschaft
Gewerkschaften	Belegschaft	Arbeitnehmerschaft
Arbeitskräfte	Unselbständige	Nicht-Eigentümer
Erwerbstätige	Arbeiterklasse	Betriebsangehörige
Beschäftigte	Werkstätige	der unterste Stand
Berufstätige	Lohn- und Gehalt-	Verdiener
Angestellte	empfänger	Lohnarbeiter
Arbeitende	Abhängige	über ihre Arbeitskraft Verfügende
		untere und mittlere Einkommens-
		gruppen

(Note: the terms Arbeiter and Angestellte were counted only when they referred to people qua workers, not when they were differentiating among workers as to rank).

An investigation of the agency-patterns of these terms gives the following picture:

a) Agentives and apparent agentives

Arbeiter is a straightforward agentive; the initiator could be the

agent himself, or could be external. Arbeitende is very similar, in that people are actively engaged in work.

Lohn- und Gehaltentpfänger appears agentive, but in fact the workers here are beneficiaries; Lohn and Gehalt are the affected entities, and the agents/benefactors are deleted.

Nicht-Eigentümer again has agentive form, but it is really a negated have-relational; the workers are not actually doing anything.

The term Eigentümer is used to refer to the employers/entrepreneurs, and here the workers are being defined in terms of what they are not - they have no real identity of their own.

Verdiener is a simple agentive with no suggestion of external initiation - but it does not mention work. The activity is described purely in terms of financial reward, not of job-satisfaction, the type of job involved etc; all considerations here are purely economic.

Lohnarbeiter combines features of Arbeiter and Verdiener in that the people are performing a voluntary and deliberate action, but for money alone.

Nur über ihre Arbeitskraft Verfügende is another apparent actional that is in fact a kind of have-relational; the people are not doing anything, they simply possess something that is potentially exploitable - by themselves or others.

Summary: Out of 8 terms, only 5 can be described as truly agentive; 2 are have-rationals, and one is benefactive.

b) Receptives

Beschäftigte and Angestellte are terms which present the workers as the entities affected by a process of which the agents are deleted.

c) Adjectival nouns

Erwerbstätige, Berufstätige, Werkstätige are all agentive: action is the defining feature of the people concerned. All the terms are very general. With Erwerbstätige economic considerations again seem to predominate, in the case of Berufstätige and Werkstätige the job itself is the main focus.

Betriebsangehörige appears actional, or at least descriptive, but in fact the workers here are the affected entity, in that they are

possessed by unnamed agents associated with the Betrieb; they are the "second half" of a have-relational, not doing anything and defined in almost feudal terms as if they were owned by their employers.

Unselbständige, Abhängige: the first of these is overtly negative: as in the case of Nicht-Eigentümer, the workers here are seen as the reverse of the employers who are Selbständige, and are defined in terms of what they are not. Abhängige is again negative, in that the workers cannot survive alone, although this is not obvious from the agency-pattern of the noun. It is not stated who or what they are dependent on, but it is clear from the context that it is the employers. (Very occasionally these are referred to as unabhängig (6) but otherwise grammatically negative terms are very rare in connection with the employers).

d) Abstracts/collectives

In the cases of Gewerkschaft, Belegschaft, Arbeiterschaft and Arbeitnehmerschaft there is no individuality, the workers are seen as a uniform and cohesive group. As mentioned above in connection with Gewerkschaft, the issue of agency largely disappears, that which is present in Arbeiter and Arbeitnehmer being neutralised through the addition of the suffix. Whilst Gewerkschaft is clearly different from the other three terms here in that it refers specifically to the politically and socially organised workers, we have seen above that it is frequently used in an extended sense to refer to the workers in general.

e) Others

Of the remaining terms used to denote the workers, two that have clear Marxist overtones are Proletariat/Proletarier and Arbeiterklasse. Like the collectives above these terms are neutral with regard to agency, saying more about the position of the workers in society than about the role they play.

der unterste Stand and die unteren und mittleren Einkommensgruppen refer more specifically to the economic status of the workers, Stand also having reference to social prestige. In both cases the adjective unter shows clearly that lack of money leads to lack of status. As with the two previous categories, these terms are neutral with regard to agency.

Arbeitskräfte is one of the more common terms used of the workers, and in terms of agency and evaluative content it is neutral - the people are simply there to work, and are described as such,

In summary, we see from the above investigation that relatively few of the terms referring to the workers are agentive: Arbeitnehmer, Arbeiter, Arbeitende, Verdiener, Lohnarbeiter, Erwerbstätige, Berufstätige, Werkstätige are the eight agentives out of a total of twenty-four terms. They account, however, for approximately 60% of all occurrences. Of the other terms, only two, Angestellte and Beschäftigte, really show any agency, the workers being the affected entity and the agents being deleted. The remaining terms, while often being coloured in some way, such as is seen in the Marxist connotations of Proletariat and the social (and moral?) judgement in der unterste Stand, are neutral as far as agency is concerned.

3.2.2 The employers

Terms used to refer to the employers (here taken to include those working for themselves, even if this does not involve owning a large firm) are as follows:

Arbeitgeber	Besitzer	Unternehmung
Unternehmer	Aktionäre	Kapitalgeber
Selbständige	Chef	Kapitalbesitzer
Kapital/Kapitalist	Privatunternehmer	Industrie
Eigentümer	Produktionsmittel-	Plutokratie
Bourgeoisie	besitzer	Betriebsführung
Gutsbesitzer	Direktor	Kapitaleigner
		Eigentümer des Kapitals

(Note: the above terms are listed in order of frequency)

a) Agentives

The two most common terms, accounting for approximately 55% of the total number of occurrences, are clearly agentive: the employers are doing something deliberately. In the case of Arbeitgeber there is a deleted beneficiary involved, and the employers appear charitable. In the case of Unternehmer the process is intensive - no-one is directly affected. Other, at least apparent, agentives, are Eigentümer, Gutsbesitzer, Besitzer, Produktionsmittelbesitzer, Eigentümer des Kapitals, Kapitalbesitzer, Kapitaleigner, Privatunternehmer, Direktor, Kapital-

geber. Of these, the first seven are in fact have-relationals, the thing related to being in each case various forms of capital. The owners are not doing anything with these, but are simply identified in terms of their relationship with their capital. The remaining terms are more like true agentives: Privatunternehmer is simply an extension of Unternehmer, stressing that the action is done on an individual basis; Direktor refers specifically to the role of the person within the firm, rather than in the economy as a whole; the sentence where it occurs (G&P, p 183) refers to worker-participation in industry in Yugoslavia in the 1950s, so clearly there can be no suggestion that the power of the director extends beyond the confines of the firm. Kapitalgeber, like Arbeitgeber, involves a deleted beneficiary.

b) Others

None of the terms here show the employers as the affected entity of a process; where they are not agents, whether actual or apparent, they are described explicitly in terms of what they possess: Kapitalist, Aktionäre (this term was included here since it was felt that the shareholders have more in common with the employers than with the workers, and they are closely connected with the employers in the area of worker-participation). Alternatively the employers are referred to as a collective through the use of a nominalised verb: Unternehmung, Betriebsführung; both these verbs are affective, ie actionals that affect other entities.

Other ways of presenting the employers are: in terms of their role within the firm: Chef (clearly this is similar to Direktor, but the actional element is missing); via a collective: Plutokratie, Bourgeoisie, both of these terms have negative connotations, the first occurring in an extract from a communist source (G&P, p 259), and two of the occurrences of the second being taken directly from Marx and the others from writers who accepted and adopted his analysis of society (G&P, p 44, 46, 260). On one occasion a distinction is drawn between Gewerkschaft and Industrie (G&P, p 179), the meaning of the latter being reduced to refer only to the employers' side. Finally, the only adjectival noun denoting the employers, but which accounts for some 14% of total occurrences, is Selbständige; this is formed from the intensive verb stehen which is nominalised to Stand and then forms the adjective ständig - the original (intensive) action is independent,

affects no-one and is initiated by no-one external. As mentioned above, the workers are often referred to as the reverse or negation of this - one feature of the employers forms the basis of the definition of the two major groups involved in industry.

3.2.3 Summary and conclusion

As was the case with the workers, the majority of the terms relating to the employers are agentive; there are no receptive terms, the non-agentive ones being neutral with regard to agency, but defining the employers in terms of money, what they possess, their main characteristic or in a politically weighted way.

Whilst in theory the two groups share equally in a partnership, the terms referring to them reveal that the workers are regarded as somewhat more passive than the employers, receptive nouns being used to refer to them. They are also more frequently referred to en masse via collective nouns, while the employers, even if mentioned in the plural, are always individuals. Frequently the workers "disappear" altogether as people, and are equated with the jobs they do or the sections of the economy in which they work:

- 9 Die Berufszählung von 1970 ergab nämlich, daß die Dienstleistungstätigkeiten auch im Produktionssektor immer mehr zunehmen. (TP, p 117)
- 10 Hier zeigt sich, daß die Einstellung zu Schule und Bildung ganz allgemein bei den einzelnen Beschäftigungsgruppen oder sozialen Schichten unterschiedlich ist. (TP, p 120)
- 11 Versuchen dann der Staat und die Bundesbank, die Nachfrage wieder zu verringern, . . . dann werden möglicherweise wieder Arbeitsplätze sowie das Wachstum der Wirtschaft gefährdet. (TP, p 132)

3.3 Relationships as possession

3.3.1 The GDR

A relationship in the GDR that is of similar significance and open to ideological interpretation in the same way as that between the workers and the employers in the FRG is that between the working class

and the ML party. The issues of agency and initiation with respect to these two groups are discussed in more detail in section 4; in the present section we discuss the relationship between the two in terms of possession and belonging, but both this relationship and the issue of agency can be seen as part of the overall problem as to which group is the more important and powerful, which is the leader and which the led. (For a discussion of problematic aspects of possessives in German, see Sitta (1972) *passim*).

The collocation die Partei der Arbeiterklasse is, perhaps surprisingly, infrequent in the GDR texts; the following are two rare examples of it:

- 12 Hunderttausende eignen sich unter Führung der Partei der Arbeiterklasse in den Schulen der sozialistischen Arbeit . . . Kenntnisse über die wissenschaftliche Politik der Partei der Arbeiterklasse an . . . (8/14)
- 13 Auf Initiative der ML Partei der Arbeiterklasse wurde durch die Enteignung der Monopolbourgeoisie und die Überführung ihres Eigentums in die Hände des Volkes die kapitalistische Produktionsweise eingeschränkt. (10/12)

The meaning here could be that the party is made up of members of the working class, and so the sense of the phrase would be "the party consisting of the working class"; or the relationship could be one of "adoption", with the party not organically connected with the working class, but chosen by it. It is well known that the two groups are regarded as historically determined to be closely associated (Dzykowski et al (1978:122)), but one is left here with the "chicken and egg" problem as to whether the working class recognises the ML party as the one it needs to improve its situation, or whether the party chose the working class as the group most likely to help it realise its own political and social aims.

The first two sentences below, while not totally clear-cut and unambiguous, seem to support the first of these interpretations, while the third sentence seems to support the second view:

- 14 Die Arbeiterklasse, ihre Partei, ihr Staat stehen mit ihrer Macht dahinter. (8/110)
- here the party and the state are both adjuncts of the working class.
- 15 Die revolutionären Parteien der Arbeiterklasse berücksichtigen deshalb diese konkreten Bedingungen und nationalen Besonderheiten ihrer Länder bei der Durchführung der sozialistischen Revolution. (10/15)

- here the fact that there is more than one party but only one working class suggests that the latter is the group in terms of which the

relationship is defined.

16 Die Partei der Arbeiterklasse und unser Staat betrachten deshalb die Wirtschaft nicht schlechthin als einen Abschnitt der Tätigkeit neben anderen, sondern als das Hauptfeld unseres heutigen Kampfes. (10/41)

- here the party and the state seem to be on a separate level from other people, making decisions at the top level as to what is to be done by the people as a whole in their struggle. The use of unser here is interesting too: as stated, the area of struggle, ie the focus of political attention, is here shown as being decreed from above, whilst in theory the society in a socialist state, ie the dictatorship of the proletariat, is to be run by the mass of people forming that society (7). This problem of how representative of the masses elected assemblies really are has long occupied political thinkers in western-style states (8), but it is unusual for a socialist state to admit (albeit unwittingly) that this "them and us" attitude still exists. A similarly interesting construction is seen in the following sentence where there is an explicit differentiation between the workers and "us":

17 (Die Werktätigen) haben den Staat geschaffen und setzen ihn zu unser aller Nutzen ein. (8/52)

The first sentence below shows the party to be basing its actions on the philosophy of the working class, ie it is defining itself in terms of a group that existed prior to it. The second sentence, however, continues the ambiguity by collapsing the two groups in the possessive relationship into a compound noun:

18 Die Partei erfüllt diese Aufgabe auf der Grundlage des ML, der wissenschaftlichen Weltanschauung der internationalen Arbeiterklasse. (9/62)

19 Nach der Konferenz von Helsinki haben die Sowjetunion, die anderen sozialistischen Länder, die kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien wiederum die Initiative ergriffen und ein Programm für die Fortführung des Entspannungsprozesses unterbreitet. (10/39)

The same problem as to which group is the possessor and which the possessed is found in the phrase Kollektiv der Arbeiterklasse: in the sentence below it is not clear whether only working class collectives, and no other collectives, have ideas, or whether all collectives are made up of members of the working class, and it is the most progressive of these that have ideas:

20 Die Initiative im Wettbewerb geht von den fortgeschrittensten Kollektiven der Arbeiterklasse aus. (8/12)

A much more common construction than die Partei der Arbeiterklasse is die Arbeiterklasse und ihre Partei; in this construction both groups are again mentioned, but kept clearly separate, although they are obviously closely related:

- 21 Sie entwickelten sich unter Führung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei zu Pflegestätten des Humanismus und der fortschrittlichen Wissenschaft. (7/31)
- 22 Uns werden die ökonomischen und politischen Grundlagen der sozialistischen Gesellschaft beschäftigen, . . . also die führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer ML Partei . . . (8/9)
- 23 Die Beziehungen zur Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei müssen unser ganzes Leben tragen. (9/21)

In all the above examples the two groups are seen as acting in unison, but the issue of the precise meaning of ihr is left unresolved.

This continuous ambiguity points to a close symbiotic relationship between the party and the working class: each is defined in terms of the other, and neither can achieve anything without the help of the other; the party needs the working class to help it realise its own ambitions, and the working class recognises the need for action only as a result of the enlightenment brought about by the work of the party. The relevance of this theoretical position to actual life is that the party is enabled to dictate the actions of the working class and all other citizens of the GDR, with the justification that this is the only way in which progress can be made. At the same time, the workers can believe that they are the most powerful force in society, since the party is their party and made up of members of the same class as themselves. This is not to suggest that there is any deliberate manipulation of language here on the part of the authors of the school books, or that they are deliberately trying to blur reality for their own or the party's ends, but simply that this type of ambiguity represents one way in which language can be made to deal with problematic areas of ideology. It is probable that the children reading these texts will absorb the form of the language at the same time as they learn its content, and that they in turn will reproduce this semi-official version of facts and events.

3.3.2 The FRG

A similar problem as to the precise relationship between possessor and possessed is found in the FRG texts in connection with the workers and the firms where they work, as in the following example:

- 24 Vorteilhaft bei dieser Form ist, daß alle Arbeitnehmer den gleichen Anteil an Fondsvermögen besitzen sollen, unabhängig davon, ob die jeweilige Ertragslage ihres Betriebs günstig oder ungünstig ist. (G&P, p 168)

Here ihr is ambiguous as to whether it means the firm which the workers help run (via the Mitbestimmung under discussion here) or whether it simply means the firm for which they work. Ordinarily the latter explanation would be the more likely, but in the context of the extract from which this sentence is taken the situation is less clear-cut and the ambiguity is difficult to resolve.

Ambiguous usage of this type is found throughout those sections of the FRG textbooks which deal with industrial relations and Mitbestimmung. The use of possessives in this way allows the precise nature of the relationship between the workers and the employers, and consequently the precise status of the workers, to become blurred.

The workers are more frequently depicted in connection with particular aspects of their work or their job, than with the firm as a whole. Whilst the definite article is frequently used in this type of context (die Mitbestimmung am Arbeitsplatz (G&P, p 176), die unmittelbare Beteiligung am Firmengewinn (G&P, p 168), die Mitbestimmung der Arbeitnehmer im Betrieb (TP, p 77), possessives are also used, as in the following examples:

- 25 Will der Arbeitnehmer seine Beteiligungsrechte nicht verlieren, muß er im Betrieb bleiben, er kann also seinen Arbeitsplatz nicht wechseln. (G&P, p 168)
- 26 Dadurch liefen die Arbeiter nicht so schnell Gefahr, bei wirtschaftlichen Rückschlägen ihre Arbeitsplätze zu verlieren . . . (TP, p 76)
- 27 Wenn Unternehmer Fehlentscheidungen treffen, . . . dann sind immer auch die Arbeitnehmer betroffen: sie verlieren ihren Arbeitsplatz. (TP, p 133)
- 28 Das ganze System der kapitalistischen Produktion beruht darauf, daß der Arbeiter seine Arbeitskraft als Ware verkauft. (TP, p 69)

Occasionally the workers are seen in a close possessive relationship

with the employers:

- 29 Die Arbeiter waren fast bis Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts
völlig von ihren Arbeitgebern abhängig. (TP, p 130)

and with the unions:

- 30 Diese Seite (Kapitaleigner) hat damit wie bisher die letzte
Entscheidungsgewalt . . . , wenn auch die Arbeitnehmer und
ihre Gewerkschaften mehr Rechte erhalten haben. (TP, p 133)

In the last two examples above the issue of primacy in the relationship between the two groups in terms of who is dependent on whom and who influences whom is irresolvable. We have discussed above the close association in the FRG textbooks of workers and unions, to the extent that the terms become virtual synonyms; the possessive use illustrated above does nothing to clarify this issue.

The examples below illustrate an interesting contrast in the use of the adjective eigen in the relationship between workers and firms; the first quotation is from Franz-Josef Strauß, who is seeking to differentiate between workers in general and the unions, with the aim of seeking a reduction in union influence; he sees the firm where a person works as that person's own firm. In contrast, the second example is from the body of the text of Thema Politik, written by the authors themselves, who presumably are attempting to give a balanced and impartial account of the situation; they see the firm where people work as essentially not their own, but the property of others.

- 31 Nur so kann eine echte partnerschaftliche Mitbestimmung und
Mitgestaltung der Belegschaft im eigenen Betrieb gesichert
werden . . . (G&P, p 176)
- 32 Die meisten Menschen arbeiten nicht im eigenen Geschäft
oder im eigenen Betrieb . . . (TP, p 66)

The examples above illustrate the problematic nature of the relationship of workers to employers and their place of work, and the way in which the use of possessives allows this to remain blurred. The ambiguities illustrated above make possible interpretations which coincide with the version of reality subscribed to by the ruling elite, whilst at the same time other readings are possible which confirm the beliefs of other groups, thus lessening the likelihood of active dissent. Kress and Hodge discuss this issue as follows:

. . . Another common use of the 's form is in constructions such as John's school/firm. By analogy with other uses of the form it ought to be suggesting that the school or firm belongs to or is part of John. In reality the apparently

possessed term is the larger, and the apparent possessor is part of it. However, we tend to interpret it in the usual way, as though the school or firm is somehow a part of John. This makes it interesting for an analyst of our culture. For one thing the possession-model is used for a relationship between an individual and an institution. For another the terms of the model are inverted in interpretation so that the possessed part seems like the whole, and a possession like a possessor. (Kress and Hodge (1979: 117); see also Halliday (1967a:25); Kress (1976:73))

Possessives are thus seen to play a useful role in ideological language in that they permit the obfuscation of power-relationships whilst still presenting an ideologically desirable picture of reality.

3.4 Conclusion

There emerge from our discussion above of a section of the lexis of the two sets of texts several points with regard to the position of working people in the two German states. Firstly, in the FRG texts, working people tend to be presented more as a mass, and employers as more individual and dynamic, this contrast amounting in some cases to the workers being presented as the opposite or the negation of the employers. Furthermore, the distinction between organised and non-organised labour is fudged. Whilst it is not surprising, in view of the basic aim of political education in the FRG to provoke discussion and individual decision-making, that no cut and dried answers are presented to problems with regard to the concept of Partnerschaft, it nonetheless appears that employers are generally presented in a more positive light than workers, whilst the power-relations existing between them are glossed over.

With regard to the GDR texts, the overall relationship between the working class and the Party has been shown to be ambiguous on the lexical level. It is not made clear which of these two groups exercises real power in contemporary GDR society, and whilst the concept of the dialectic may be said to underlie and shape the whole of this relationship, the use of this theoretical term in itself permits the real-life situation to be left undiscussed. The conflict between the tenet on the ideological level that the working class is the dominant group in GDR society, and the exercise of power on the everyday level by the Party, is thus seen to be reflected in the

lexical usage in the school textbooks.

The syntactic representation of these problematic areas and relationships is dealt with in the next section on Agency and Initiation.

Notes

- 1 At this point Trew presents a diagram illustrating the relationship between the theoretical and the linguistic significance of categorisation and classification.
- 2 On this issue see also Kainz (1965:160); Halliday (1966c); Sinclair (1966); Sternberger et al (1968) *passim*; Meng (1972); Michel (1972); Scholwin (1972:65); Pateman (1975) chapter 5; Fowler (1977a:47) - this represents a change from the view expressed in Fowler (1974:93f), where lexical variation was largely dismissed as belonging to "style" and thus irrelevant in the study of semantics; Harrison (1977:121); Dik (1978:55f); Trew (1978:40); Bachem (1979:60); Bergsdorf (1979:56); Fowler et al (1979), esp p 26f; Kress and Hodge (1979:38).
- 3 See for example the following quotations:

Die Kollektiverziehung, dh die Erziehung "im Kollektiv durch das Kollektiv zum Kollektiv" ist eine wesentliche Zielstellung und Methode der gesamten sozialistischen Erziehung und zielt auf die "sozialistische" Gestaltung der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen und ihre Nutzung für die Erziehung "sozialistischer Persönlichkeiten" . . . (DDR Handbuch (1979:153))

Untersuchungen haben bewiesen, daß man . . . bereits in der 1. Klasse . . . beginnen und den Prozeß der Kollektiventwicklung in jeder Klasse durch unterrichtliche und außerunterrichtliche Maßnahmen systematisch leiten muß. (Neumer et al (1976:134))

- 4 The whole issue of the theory of Sozialpartnerschaft is called into question at the beginning of Gesellschaft und Politik in a "parable" based on the story of Robinson Crusoe: Crusoe offers to take on Man Friday as an "employee", but will not let him help to run the "business". Man Friday's situation is analysed first, and then Crusoe's, and the conclusion is drawn that Friday is in a subordinate position as a result of Crusoe's superior wealth: he owns a penknife as a rudimentary means of production. Even at this early stage in the book the social "myth" is being put into question, and the worker is seen as ultimately in an inferior position despite all claims to the contrary. The writers show both points of view here as elsewhere - they are able to rationalise and partially at least justify Robinson's action, but they seem to be more sympathetic to Friday than to Crusoe.

Other sentences also call into question the concept of Partnerschaft, although without necessarily taking sides: in the example below there is a clear "us and them" situation:

Der "Chef" sagt, heute abend müssen alle ein paar Überstunden machen, sonst können "wir" die Termine nicht einhalten. (G&P, p 11)

Similarly, the continuing economic disparities in society are foregrounded in the following examples:

Im gleichen Jahr verdiente ein Drittel der Lohn-

und Gehaltsempfänger höchstens 500 Mark: binnen zwölf Monaten soviele wie die Millionäre in 23 Stunden. (G&P, p 163)

In einer Gesellschaft, die unumschränktes Privateigentum an Produktionsmitteln erlaubt, fließt das neuentstandene Kapital immer wieder ausschließlich den alten Besitzern zu, obwohl alle Arbeitnehmer die Kapitalbildung mitfinanzieren müssen, und zwar durch Konsumverzicht. (G&P, p 165)

The view of workers and employers as Sozialpartner is discussed positively in the following works:

Klönne and Tschoepe (1964:347f) write that in the early and middle 1960s the majority of school textbooks employed the terms Arbeitnehmer, Arbeitgeber and Sozialpartner in an unreservedly positive way; Berger and Luckmann (1967:142f) write in a positive way of the concept of pluralism as essentially subversive of the status quo and thus desirable, because it prevents stagnation; Beutin (1976:120f) gives a history of the term; Hilligen (1976:27f) writes that in the 1950s the idea of Partnerschaft was seen as a means of guarding against a resurgence of fascism; Beavan (1978:35f) writes that the term was introduced in the 1950s as part of the "no conflict"/ohne mich school of thought.

A negative view of the concept of pluralism, as essentially idealistic and unrealisable, is found in the following:

Mueller (1973:9); Connolly (1974:7); Hartung (1974:491); Ohmann (1976:189f); Edelman (1977:xviii).

Many writers, both socialist and non-socialist, have criticised the concept of Sozialpartnerschaft as seeking to disguise the fundamental differences of interest within society for the benefit of those in power and to the detriment of the majority. These include the following: Becker et al (1963:36, 40, 192f, 266); Nitzschke (1966:257) writes that at that time the unions were depicted as in friendly competition with the employers, not engaged in a class-war; he mistrusts this view; Michel (1967:260); Dieckmann (1969:84); Leinfellner (1971:101); Michel (1972:118); W Schmidt (1972b:31); Ammon (1973:106f); Harnisch (1974:68); Hub and Lange (1974:13); Fleischer (1977:479f); Böttcher (1978:71f) writes that in the school textbooks which he investigates criticising the concept of Partnerschaft is regarded as left-wing and subversive; H Wagner (1981:30).

The following writers argue that the terms Arbeitnehmer and Arbeitgeber should be reversed, in line with Engels' view that employers take labour and workers give it: Mackensen (1973:107); Fetscher and Richter (1976:31f); Fleischer (1977:202).

For a general discussion of terminology in the field of industrial relations in the FRG, see Korn (1958:37f); Schmolders (1979:64).

5 This list of terms was compiled by reference to longer extracts of texts than were the lists on number, namely G&P, p 42-7, 149-196, and TP, p 66-80, 123-133, and other shorter extracts throughout the books referring to work and working people.

6 See for example TP, p 106:
eine wirtschaftlich und gesellschaftlich unabhängige Mittelschicht.

7 The Wörterbuch zum sozialistischen Staat defines the dictatorship of the proletariat as follows:

Politische Herrschaft (Macht) der Arbeiterklasse, die sie im Ergebnis des politischen Sieges ihrer Revolution durch den Sturz der politischen Macht der Bourgeoisie errichtet. Die D. wird durch die führende Rolle der die politische Macht ausübenden Arbeiterklasse und ihrer ML Partei charakterisiert, und stellt eine besondere Form des Klassenbündnisses der führenden Arbeiterklasse mit anderen werktätigen Klassen und Schichten, vor allem der werktätigen Bauernschaft, dar. (WB:soz. St:73)

This definition still does not solve the problem of leadership and the led: the workers and the party are both agents.

8 See for example Heater (1974:73):

People are becoming more highly educated and politically conscious, especially through the medium of television, at the same time that government intervention in private lives is becoming increasingly pervasive.

Is increased participation desirable? There are two major caveats. One . . . is that improved communication between government and governed is both more to be desired and more practical in a large modern state than any attempt to achieve total participation. The other is the belief that apathy is an essential ingredient for democracy. This belief is grounded in the assumption that the engagement of the great bulk of the populace in political activity would result in one of two unfortunate conditions: either inefficiency and instability; or the surrender of power to an authoritarian regime because the mass of the people do not want political responsibility.

and Kress and Senghaas (1972:118-9):

War es bereits für Tocqueville und Mill kennzeichnend, den - in der warenproduzierenden Gesellschaft - in der Masse vereinzelter Einzelnen als kulturloses Atom und bedrohliche condition humaine der modernen Demokratie schlechthin zu betrachten, und wußte Max Weber der fortschreitenden Bürokratisierung und Vermassung kaum etwas anderes entgegenzusetzen als die machthungrigen Politischen- und Wirtschaftsführer, so bilden die Furcht vor "populistischen" Initiativen nicht institutionsgebundener Massenbewegungen und die Sorge um die Stabilität von Institutionen und Eliten gleichsam die Naturbasis der Kategorien "empirischer" Demokratietheorien.

4 The ideational component: agency and initiation. Transitivity and ergativity in the two sets of texts

In this section we continue on the level of syntax the discussion of the presentation of power-relationships dealt with in the previous section on the level of lexis. We concentrate mainly on the GDR texts, and the depiction in them of the working class and its relationship with other important groups in society, in particular the Party. From the FRG books we discuss the relationships between workers, unions and employers. The issues of which group in society is the most powerful and capable of leading that society, and of the position of the individual vis-à-vis this power-structure are clearly of central importance in political education in any context. If the prevailing ideology maintains that a specific group is the most important and dominant group in society, one would expect to find this social and political superiority reflected in the syntactic constructions by means of which it is presented. An investigation of the transitivity patterns relating to the groups mentioned above is both revealing and provocative with regard to the actual power-relationships that exist among them. We find that the kind of ambiguity and obfuscation which we discovered in the previous section, as to which is the leading social group in the GDR and what is the precise position of working people in the FRG, continues on the syntactic level, and is reflected in a variety of partly contradictory and partly ambiguous structures which are used to describe these particular aspects of extra-linguistic reality. We discuss the patterns of agency and initiation conveyed in particular by verbs used in connection with working people, in order to ascertain to what extent actions are performed spontaneously and independently, and to what extent they are a result of external prompting. We find that the issues of power and dominance in this area are extremely unclear. The linguistic model on which we base this discussion is Halliday's "transitivity", which he describes as follows:

Transitivity systems are concerned with the type of process expressed in the clause, with the participants in this process, animate and inanimate, and with various attributes and circumstances of the process and the participants. (Halliday (1967b:38))

Transitivity is the set of options relating to cognitive content, the linguistic representation of extralinguistic experience, whether of the phenomena of the external world or of feeling, thoughts and perceptions. (Halliday (1967c: 199); see also Halliday (1968a:179); (1970a:148); (1973:106f);

Hodge and Kress (1974:15f); Parret (1974:103); Kress (1976:159f))

This aspect of the English language has been dealt with in some detail by Halliday (1967b; 1967c; 1968a), and by the UEA linguists, as in Huddleston et al's detailed study of the language of scientific texts (1968:18f), and in work undertaken by Fowler, Hodge, Kress, Trew and others either individually or jointly in their investigations of ideological aspects of English. Our own method in this section is based on the method of the UEA linguists in general, and our terminology is adopted from their work.

4.1 The GDR

4.1.1 The working class and the party

One of the aims of the GDR course in Staatsbürgerkunde is presented as follows:

Den Schülern wird bewußt gemacht, daß die DDR unser sozialistisches Vaterland ist, weil in ihr die Arbeiterklasse im Bündnis mit allen anderen Werktätigen unter Führung der ML Partei die Macht ausübt . . . (Sie) begreifen, daß die historische Mission der Arbeiterklasse und die führende Rolle der ML Partei objektiv begründet sind . . . Insbesondere erfahren die Schüler, wie die Arbeiterklasse in der DDR unter Führung der SED, im Bündnis mit allen Werktätigen, die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft gestaltet. (Neuner et al (1976:261-2)) (Our emphasis)

Even in this statement of the fundamental aims of the teaching there is some lack of clarity in the phrases underlined with regard to which is the leading force in society, which group acts and on whose initiation.

The working class is defined as follows:

(Sie ist die) revolutionärste Klasse in der Geschichte der Menschheit, soziale Hauptkraft in der gegenwärtigen Epoche des Übergangs vom Kapitalismus zum Sozialismus und Kommunismus . . . Die führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse ist objektiv begründet. (WB:soz St (1974:15))

Die Arbeiterklasse in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft ist der Teil des internationalen Proletariats, der als unmittelbarer Träger des gesamtgesellschaftlichen sozialistischen Eigentums und der politischen Macht in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft die führende Rolle mit dem Ziel ausübt, die klassenlose kommunistische Gesellschaft aufzubauen. (WB:ML Soz (1978:31); on the importance of work in ML thought, see Sontheimer and Bleek (1975:128f))

In these definitions the working class is the most powerful group and the leader of society, although no details are given and there are no actional verbs in the definitions. One would expect on the basis of these statements that the working class would be consistently presented in the agentive mode in the school texts, as the initiator of its own actions and as affecting and effecting other entities (1). This is not the case, however, and the syntactic variety in the presentation of the working class reflects to some degree observed discrepancies in the real-world relationship between the working class and the Party.

In many cases, sentences referring to the working class depict it unequivocally as the initiator and agent of processes; moreover, in the example below it is the initiator of subsequent action on the part of the farmers. (We discuss the concept of initiation later in this section).

- 1 Mit leerem Magen, ohne genügende Kleidung, oftmals buchstäblich mit nackten Händen und ohne Aussicht auf Bezahlung oder Belohnung gingen (die besten Vertreter der deutschen Arbeiterklasse) den Trümmerbergen zu Leibe, brachten die Fabriken und den Verkehr wieder in Gang, reparierten die landwirtschaftlichen Maschinen und Geräte und ermöglichten es den Bauern, die von den Kriegssereignissen verwüsteten Felder zu bestellen. (7/39-40)

In the following example the actions performed by the working class are also initiated by the members of that class themselves; moreover, the formation of the class is itself presented as spontaneous and self-initiating:

- 2 In ersten großen Auseinandersetzungen formierte sich die Arbeiterklasse. In England traten Arbeiter, politisch organisiert in der Chartisten-Bewegung, für Arbeiterrechte ein. (9/8)

No details are given here, however, of how the people became organisiert, whether they were the agents of the process themselves or were affected by some external agency. Moreover, the verb sich formieren as used here would seem to depict a logical impossibility, in that it is an effective verb, which presupposes an existing agent, acting on itself in order to bring about its own genesis. The sentences below, which could be multiplied many times, are similar, in that the working class is the agent of both affective and effective verbs:

- 3 Die Arbeiterklasse festigte ihre sozialistische Staatsmacht und schuf ein festes Bündnis mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern, der Intelligenz und den anderen Werktätigen. (9/85)

- 4 Seit Beginn der 70er Jahre ist aber zugleich eine deutliche Zunahme der Kampfaktivität der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Verbündeten zu erkennen. Streikten zB in den 60er Jahren in den entwickelten kapitalistischen Ländern pro Jahr 37 Millionen Arbeiter und Angestellte, so waren es in der ersten Hälfte der 70er Jahre über 46 Millionen und 1976 schätzungsweise 49 Millionen. (10/24)

The independence of action on the part of the working class as illustrated in the examples above is limited, however, by the role played by the ML party in organising its activities. The Party is defined as

die bewußte Vorhut der (Arbeiter)klasse, die eng mit den Massen verbunden ist und die Massen führt, sie zum revolutionären Bewußtsein und zum revolutionären Kampf emporhebt. (WB:soz St (1974:182))

Als aktive Vertreterin der Interessen der Arbeiterklasse hat (die ml Partei) ein wissenschaftlich begründetes Programm und führt die Arbeiterklasse und deren Verbündete im politischen Kampf. (8/121)

Here the Party is both of the working class and separate from it, both allied with it and its leader, and this ambivalence is carried over into the school texts.

In the sentences below, the Party leads (Leitung, Lenkung, erklärt, aufdeckt, erläutert, führen), but the working class acts (Aktionen, Kampf, Leistungen): the Party would not achieve anything without the working class as its instrument, and the working class is only able to act under the leadership of the Party. This is what Römer refers to as die gelenkte Initiative (Römer (1964:178); see also p 175f on this issue). However, although in the sentences below the relationship between the leader and the led is clear, the real-life meaning of the sentences and the nature of the policy-making mechanism behind them is left unresolved:

- 5 Die Partei, das ist weitsichtige und zielklare Leitung und Lenkung der Aktionen der Arbeiterklasse und aller Werktätigen beim sozialistischen Aufbau. (8/19)
- 6 Deshalb brauchen die Arbeiter für ihren Kampf die Partei, die ihnen auf der Grundlage der wissenschaftlichen Weltanschauung des ML die Gesetze der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung erklärt, ihre Klassenlage aufdeckt, ihnen erläutert, warum die Bourgeoisie ihr unversöhnlicher Klassengegner ist und weshalb nur ihr Sturz allen Werktätigen ein besseres Leben ermöglicht. (9/53)

- 7 Die Partei der Arbeiterklasse erhebt nicht einfach den Anspruch, die Vorhut der Klasse zu sein, sondern hat in der gesellschaftlichen Praxis eindeutig bewiesen, zu welchen Leistungen sie die Arbeiterklasse und die ganze Gesellschaft zu führen vermag. (10/126)

One reason that is offered for this lack of clarity in the presentation of the agency-patterns of the various groups in GDR society is that, far from being a contradiction, the respective roles of the working class and the Party represent a dialectic in which each helps and receives support from the other (for a discussion of this, see for example Hunt (1969:171-212); Waller (1972:110-136); Lukacs (1972:30-8)). It is also possible to regard the situation less charitably, and take the view that despite all official claims to the contrary and attempts to reconcile the two opposing points of view through language, the group with the real power in the GDR is the Party, and the working class is at least as powerless and exploited as in non-socialist states (2).

This ambiguity as to which group is the actual leader in the struggle for socialism is dealt with - but not necessarily resolved - in various ways in the GDR text-books:

- a) The working class and the party are shown acting in unison as equal partners in a process:

- 8 Dank der großen Anstrengungen der Werktätigen der DDR unter Führung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei ist in der DDR eine moderne sozialistische Industrie entstanden. (7/44)
- 9 (Die DDR) ist die politische Organisation der Werktätigen in Stadt und Land unter Führung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer ml Partei. (8/10)
- 10 Der Sozialismus ist das Werk der Volksmassen, die von der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei geführt werden. (9/20)
- 11 Beim Aufbau der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft wächst gesetzmäßig die führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei. (10/127)

In these sentences both groups occupy the same syntactic position, which suggests that their real-life roles are similarly comparable. The only ambiguity that arises concerns the meaning of ihre (see the section on classification above): it could mean that the party "belongs to" the working class and is run and controlled by it, or the relationship could be less immediate, in that the Party is the one

that the workers have chosen to follow, not one that they are destined to ally themselves with. Whichever of these is the case, the working class is seen as separate from the Party but very closely linked with it.

b) The working class is presented as the major force in society:

- 12 In den volkseigenen Betrieben und Kombinatn erarbeitet die Arbeiterklasse den Hauptteil des materiellen Reichtums der Gesellschaft. (8/12)
- 13 (Die Arbeiterklasse) übt ihre Macht im Interesse aller Werktätigen aus. (8/14)
- 14 Durch ihre Arbeit in den Fabriken, Werkhallen oder auf den Baustellen verwirklicht (die Arbeiterklasse) den technischen Fortschritt. (9/45)
- 15 Die führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse beim Aufbau der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft kommt aber auch darin zum Ausdruck, daß Millionen von Arbeitern und Angestellten als Mitglieder der ml Partei und der gesellschaftlichen Organisationen, als Abgeordnete, Mitglieder von Elternbeiräten in den Schulen, Teilnehmer von Produktionsberatungen usw an der Leitung und Planung der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung teilnehmen. (10/125)

In the above sentences the working class is the agent of the processes mentioned, and no external initiator is mentioned; this suggests that the working class acts in a similarly independent way in real life.

c) The Party is presented as the "enabler" of the working class, and the only group that is able to guide it correctly towards socialism:

- 16 Weil die Partei der Arbeiterklasse ein wissenschaftliches Programm besitzt, ist sie in der Lage, allen Werktätigen jederzeit das Ziel und den Weg der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung zu weisen. (7/73)
- 17 Die SED plant, organisiert und leitet das Handeln der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen. (8/18)
- 18 Durch ihre unermüdliche Arbeit organisiert die Partei die Arbeiterklasse und führt sie über die verschiedenen Klassenauseinandersetzungen zur proletarischen Revolution bis zur Vollendung ihrer historischen Mission. (9/55)
- 19 (Die ml Parteien) weisen mit ihren Programmen der Arbeiterklasse und ihren Verbündeten den Weg. (10/32)

In the above sentences the Party is the agent of the process, and the working class is in a syntactically inferior position as either affected entity or beneficiary. This suggests that in the real world the Party is the dominant group and can exercise influence over the working class.

d) The working class is presented as the sole agent, but the Party is present in an adjunct clause as the leader of the working class. This very common type of construction enables both groups to be seen as the main forces working for progress:

- 20 Unter Führung der ml Partei bestimmt die Arbeiterklasse die Politik unseres sozialistischen Staates. (8/43)
- 21 Die Arbeiterklasse unter Führung ihrer ml Partei hat die Ursachen für diese Verbrechen an der jungen Generation radikal beseitigt. (8/108)
- 22 Im Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht der 7. und 8. Klasse lernten Sie den schwierigen und opferreichen, aber erfolgreichen Weg der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Verbündeten in der DDR kennen, den sie unter Führung der SED zurückgelegt hat. (9/50)
- 23 Die Diktatur des Proletariats ist die Macht der Arbeiterklasse unter Führung ihrer ml Partei, die den Aufbau des Sozialismus und Kommunismus zum Ziel hat. (10/12)

It is interesting that in sentence 22 above the final verb is in the singular, although it appears to have a plural subject; this shows clearly that the working class is seen here as primus inter pares.

From the discussion in a-d above of the transitivity-roles of the working class and the party in the GDR textbooks it is clear that on this level there is a considerable lack of consistency as to which group is presented as dominant; the variations in the syntactic structures employed in discussing the relationship between the working class and the Party present an inconsistent and partly contradictory picture which may reflect on the linguistic level difficulties encountered in putting ideological tenets into practice in the real world. We have so far discussed this issue with regard to the presentation of the T-subject/agent (3), but the difficulty of discerning the precise nature of the relationship between these two groups is also found in other contexts.

Fowler writes of transitivity that it is

arguably the most fundamental category . . . expressed in a variety of often deceptive syntactic constructions. (Fowler (1980:24))

The following examples from the GDR texts support this view:

- 24 Wie Marx und Engels nur in engster Beziehung zur Arbeiterklasse und ihrem Kampf die weltverändernden Lehren geschaffen haben, so können ihre Ideen im heutigen Kampf nur durch und

mit der Arbeiterklasse Wirklichkeit werden. (9/21)

In this sentence the working class is presented in the second half both as the agent of verwirklichen, and as the instrument of the process which is performed by an unnamed agent; the precise nature of its involvement is left unclear.

- 25 Ihre objektive Stellung in der gesellschaftlichen Produktion und ihre Führung durch eine ml Partei befähigten die Arbeiterklasse, in der sozialistischen Revolution die Führung zu übernehmen. (10/16)

Here the precise meaning of the phrase "ihre Führung durch eine ml Partei" is ambiguous; it could be operative, in which case the working class is the agent and the Party its instrument; or the phrase could be receptive, in which case the Party is the agent and the working class the affected entity.

In the two extended passages below the agents of most of the processes, which are either passivised or nominalised, are deleted. The processes mentioned in the two passages are very similar, if not identical, but in each case the candidates for the role of agent of these processes are different: in the first passage it is the Party/government, and in the second it is the working class. However, in neither case are the agency-patterns made explicit, and in the second passage the agency-patterns surrounding das Qualifikationsniveau der Arbeiterklasse change within three sentences from receptive with unnamed agent to reflexive and apparently self-initiating:

- 26a In allen Etappen unseres sozialistischen Aufbaus orientierten die SED und unsere Regierung darauf, die Arbeitsbedingungen der Werktätigen zu verbessern . . . Mit der sozialistischen Rationalisierung und dem sozialistischen Wettbewerb werden die Arbeitsbedingungen weiter spürbar verbessert. In den Betrieben wird die Arbeit immer mehr so organisiert, daß sie auch Freude macht . . . Das Einkommen der Bevölkerung, besonders der Arbeiter und Angestellten, wurde durch lohnpolitische Maßnahmen (Erhöhung des monatlichen Mindestlohnes, Anheben unterer Einkommen bestimmter Beschäftigtengruppen, Erhöhung des Lehrlingsentgelts) wesentlich verbessert . . . (10/79-80)

- 26b Die Arbeiterklasse ist als herrschende Klasse zur gestaltenden Kraft auch ihrer eigenen Entwicklung geworden. Soziale Widersprüche, zB zwischen qualifizierten und weniger qualifizierten Arbeitern sowie zwischen Landarbeitern und Industriearbeitern, die mit dem Kapitalismus entstanden sind . . ., werden unter den Bedingungen sozialistischer Macht- und Eigentumsverhältnisse schrittweise überwunden. Das geschieht durch die Erhöhung des Lohnes auch der unteren Lohngruppen, die Modernisierung auch der technisch

zurückgebliebenen Produktions- und Hilfsprozesse, die Verbesserung der Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen der Arbeiterklasse und ganz besonders auch durch die Erhöhung des Qualifikationsniveaus der Arbeiterklasse. Die Arbeiterklasse ist heute eine körperlich und geistig tätige Klasse. Die Bewältigung ihrer Aufgaben sowohl im Produktionsprozeß selbst als auch bei der Leitung und Planung der Produktion und anderer Bereiche des gesellschaftlichen Lebens verlangt von den Angehörigen der Arbeiterklasse solide Kenntnisse und Fähigkeiten. Kontinuierlich erhöht sich das Qualifikationsniveau der Arbeiterklasse. (10/125)

We discuss nominalised and reflexive verbs in more detail below.

4.1.2 Initiation (ergativity)

Just as we have discerned above some ambivalence and ambiguity in the agency-patterns ascribed to the working class and the Party, so also there is sometimes a similar lack of clarity regarding the issue of initiation of processes, ie whether the agents of the process are acting independently and of their own volition, or whether they act only on the instigation of some other group (4).

The semantics in this area are those of ergativity. Fawcett terms this "affected-centred process" and writes as follows:

. . . in an 'affected-centred' process the central role is the affected entity, and to specify the 'causer' of the happening - ie the agent - is an 'optional extra', as it were . . . What alerts us to the presence of this pattern in English is the long list of verbs such as break that occur equally happily in clauses that do and do not have agents . . . (Fawcett (1980:140-1); see also Halliday (1973:127))

The "transitive use of intransitive verbs" is discussed by Halliday and others with reference to English (Halliday (1967a:18f); Halliday (1968a:182f); Huddleston et al (1968:30f); Halliday (1970a:155f); Halliday (1973:103-140, esp p 122f); Dik (1978:159f); McTear (1979:112f); Monaghan (1979:107f, 114)). Their findings are also applicable to a small group of verbs in German, such as beginnen, brennen, fahren, zerbrechen; however, the initiation of a process by a participant other than the agent is usually dealt with in German in other ways, typically through the use of the passive, a reflexive construction or the verb lassen (see McTear (1979:114)). We discuss here some problematic cases of reflexives and lassen which were encountered in the GDR texts.

4.1.2.1 Reflexives

These can be extremely problematic, since, whilst the subject of a reflexive verb is both agent and affected entity, it is not necessarily the initiator of the action, and does not necessarily perform the action voluntarily. Halliday offers some brief discussions of the reflexive in English. Whilst much of what he writes is inapplicable to German, his remarks on the issues of intentionality and super-vention are relevant to our discussion. With regard to the former he writes:

. . . The addition of a reflexive complement in the clause may have either of two contrary effects. With a class I verb that is inherently 'unintentional' like sink, the operative with (reflexive) complement is 'intentional'; while with one that is inherently 'intentional' like run, the form with reflexive complement implies the 'unintentional' kind of resultative that is associated with many class 2 verbs with reflexive complement such as cut. (Halliday (1967b:73); see also p 52; Halliday (1967a:14f); Halliday (1968a:199))

The non-reflexive forms of the verbs in examples 27-39 below are, or can be used as, class 2, ie transitive verbs. If reflexivisation has the same effect in German as the extract from Halliday above suggests it does in English, this would mean that the processes contained in the examples below would be unintentional. In fact the situation is by no means as straightforward as this: the use in some of the examples of inanimate or compound agents precludes normal depiction of intentionality, and the question as to whether the human participants involved were acting voluntarily or on external initiation is not resolvable. Additionally, historical circumstances, which according to ML inevitably affect the actions of individuals, are frequently mentioned in the sentences as adjuncts; whilst they may not be the syntactic initiators of the processes mentioned, they nonetheless have an effect in causing the processes to be performed. Thus the issue of the degree of spontaneity involved is left unclear, and in many cases unresolvable. We discuss each example in more detail below.

- 27 Angeregt von der Brigade "Nikolai Mamai" bildeten sich im gleichen Betrieb auch die ersten Arbeits- und Forschungsgemeinschaften der Arbeiter, Meister und der technischen Intelligenz. (7/49)

Here the external initiator of the reflexive verb is unambiguous; this is not always the case. In the sentences below no reason is

given for the occurrence of the reflexive process; it is presented as entirely spontaneous, an inevitable result of the social and political conditions obtaining:

28 Wie wir erkannt haben, realisiert sich die demokratische Mitwirkung der Werktätigen vor allem in den Betrieben, am Arbeitsplatz. (10/106)

29 Im gemeinsamen Vorgehen bei der Verwirklichung der Bodenreform hatten sich die Arbeiter und werktätigen Bauern immer enger zusammengeschlossen. (7/51)

The ML belief in the inevitable development of society and groups within society when historical circumstances are correct, is reflected in the two sentences below both in their denotative meaning and also in the use of reflexive verbs:

30 Der Übergang vom Kapitalismus zum Sozialismus vollzieht sich nicht zufällig, sondern gesetzmäßig. (7/8)

31 Die Macht der Arbeiterklasse, die Diktatur des Proletariats, bildete sich in den einzelnen Ländern in verschiedenen Formen heraus, die von der Verteilung der Klassenkräfte, von nationalen Traditionen und anderen Faktoren abhängen. (10/16)

Historical circumstances also affect the relationships between groups and the psychological states of the members of those groups; this is reflected in the two very similar sentences below, in the first of which das Bündnis is both agent and affected entity of a reflexive verb, and the subordinate clause is causative/temporal, and in the second of which it is the activity of the two groups of people which is the agent of festigen, with das Bündnis as the affected entity:

32 Indem die Arbeiter gemeinsam mit den werktätigen Bauern die Bodenreform durchführten, festigte sich das Bündnis zwischen ihnen. (7/26)

33 Das gemeinsame Handeln von Arbeitern und werktätigen Bauern bei der Bodenreform festigte das Bündnis zwischen ihnen. (7/28)

The ambiguous nature of the subordinate clause in example 32 above is continued in other sentences where the main verb is reflexive. In the sentences below it is unclear whether the prepositional clause/phrase is to be read simply as meaning that something happened simultaneously with the process in the main clause, or whether it is to be read as the initiator of that process. In the former case the agents of the main verb appear more independent, acting deliberately of their own volition; in the latter case this autonomy is reduced and

they are merely reacting to external forces.

- 34 Mit der Vereinigung der gegenseitigen Bauernhilfe entwickelten sich erste Formen der Gemeinschaftsarbeit und des kollektiven Denkens der werktätigen Einzelbauern. (7/51)
- 35 In (dem sozialistischen Wettbewerb) entwickeln und festigen sich solche für die Arbeiterklasse charakteristischen Eigenschaften wie das Streben nach höheren Leistungen, Selbstlosigkeit, Disziplin, Kollektivbewußtsein und das Streben nach größerem Wissen. (10/125)
- 36 "Mit dem Voranschreiten von Wissenschaft und Technik und dem Wachstum der Produktivkräfte bilden sich folgerichtig und gesetzmäßig neue Formen der Kooperation heraus . . ." Dabei vertieft sich das "Zusammenwirken der Arbeiter, Meister und Ingenieure der Kreisbetriebe für Landtechnik und ähnlicher Einrichtungen mit den Genossenschaftsbauern und Arbeitern . . ." (10/129, quoting Bericht des Zentralkomitees an den IX. Parteitag der SED, p 301f)

We discuss ambiguous prepositional constructions in more detail in the section on causality below.

In the sentence below the objectives of the agents of the reflexive verb are also the initiators of it; the agents are again reacting to an external stimulus:

- 37 Auch die Lehrer bilden sich wie die Masse der Werktätigen ständig weiter, um den erhöhten politischen und fachlichen Forderungen gerecht zu werden, die an sie als Erzieher unserer Schuljugend gestellt werden. (8/98)

Similarly, in the sentence below the process is apparently spontaneous and independent; again, however, the presence of the prepositional phrase suggests that there was at least some external stimulus, if not an animate initiator, of the action:

- 38 Auf einer Gewerkschaftsaktivtagung im VEB Mechanische Weberei Zittau . . . verpflichtete sich (eine Weberin) im September 1953, im vierten Quartal des Jahres 45 Meter Stoff bester Qualität über ihren persönlichen Plananteil hinaus zu weben. (7/49)

A construction similar to those illustrated above is seen in the following sentence, where the verb is nominalised:

- 39 Die Bauern übernahmen konkrete Verpflichtungen zur Sicherung der Versorgung der Bevölkerung der jungen Republik. (8/36)

In this case it is unclear whether the verb that has been nominalised was reflexive or operative, and the issue of the voluntariness of the action is irresolvable here; however, since the main verb in the sentence appears independent and self-initiated, this autonomy of action is likely to be transferred in the mind of the reader to the nominalised

verb as well. The action is likely to be understood to be voluntary, even if this is not explicitly stated to be the case, and even, in fact, if it is not the case.

An excellent example of the obfuscation surrounding causality in this problematic area can be seen in the use of the verb lassen with a reflexive, the effect of which is to allow inactivity and affectedness to be presented as initiation, as in the following examples:

- 40 Von diesen Aktivisten der ersten Stunde ließen sich andere Arbeiter, Angestellte, Angehörige der Intelligenz mitreißen. (7/39)
- 41 Stets ließen (die Partei der Arbeiterklasse und unsere Regierung) sich von der Forderung W I Lenins leiten, die Betriebe für den Produktionsprozeß und seine Resultate verantwortlich zu machen. (10/106)
- 42 Unser Staat und die Partei der Arbeiterklasse lassen sich in ihrer Jugendpolitik von folgenden Grundgedanken leiten . . . (7/66)

In these examples the M-subjects appear also to be the initiators of the processes involved, whilst those participants which may be termed "T-initiators" as well as T-subjects appear simply in the form of adjuncts. In these examples the agents of the processes involved appear voluntarily to relinquish their freedom of action. They do not, however, react to simply any external stimulus, but only those which are historically and politically appropriate; this is illustrated in the sentence below where strong external stimuli fail to drive the people into despair:

- 43 "Der historischen Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit zuliebe halte ich es für nötig festzustellen, was vielfach schon vergessen wird, daß es in den Monaten und Jahren der größten Not unseres deutschen Volkes infolge des Hitlerkrieges die besten Vertreter der deutschen Arbeiterklasse waren, die sich nicht von Verzweiflung und Panik überwältigen ließen, sondern mutig und entschlossen an die Arbeit gingen, als die Trümmerstätten in unseren Städten und Dörfern noch rauchten". (7/39, quoting Pieck (1950:297))

The effect of the use in this example of the actional sich überwältigen lassen is to emphasise the independently agentive nature of the working class, which is also the agent of an die Arbeit gehen. A possible alternative to this construction, with the same denotative meaning, would be a receptive:

die Vertreter der deutschen Arbeiterklasse wurden nicht von Verzweiflung und Panik überwältigt.

Here the working class would remain the M-subject of the sentence, but

would no longer be the agent of the process; thus its independence of action would be diminished. As the sentence in example 43 stands, the working class is the agent of two processes, and the initiator of at least one of them.

The sentence below is somewhat different from those discussed so far, in that the construction lassen + reflexive infinitive + nicht is a common alternative to a negative passive construction; however, our discussion above of the positive use of lassen + reflexive alerts us to a possible alternative reading of sentences such as this, where the M-subject, here Produktivkräfte, appears more active than would normally be the case:

- 44 Unter diesen Bedingungen lassen sich die Produktivkräfte nur noch beherrschen und den Interessen der werktätigen Menschen entsprechend weiterentwickeln, wenn die Verfügungsgewalt über die Produktionsmittel den Monopolen genommen und dem Volk unterstellt wird. (9/16)

The agency patterns in this example are extremely unclear; the agent of the only actional verb is Produktivkräfte, and no human participants are involved here; moreover, the agents of nehmen and unterstellen are deleted, and the only human participants, werktätige Menschen and Volk, are syntactically subordinate and play no independent role. There are no human agents in the whole of the paragraph from which this sentence is taken; the paragraph deals with the inevitability of socialist revolution as a result of prevailing economic conditions in imperialist society, and the whole argument is presented in terms of economic forces. The issues as to which groups and individuals in society take action, and the form which that action takes, are not made clear; rather, the dominant position of economic forces with respect to social development is emphasised.

The brief discussion above of the use of reflexives illustrates ways in which they can contribute to the obfuscation of agency, whether this is with regard to the relationship between different groups in society, or to the influence of historical forces on society in general. The use of reflexives enables impressions and implications to be made without anything being stated outright, and the position of the individual remains ambiguous.

4.1.3 Nominalisation

On the nominalisation of verbs Fowler writes as follows:

Nominalization permits deletion of reference to the persons responsible for and affected by the processes described by the verbs; nominalization can depersonalize, depopulate. (Fowler (1980:12); see also Halliday (1967a:23); Uhlig (1972:84f); Kress and Trew (1978a:759); Trew (1978:46); Fowler et al (1979:32); Beedham (1983:26))

In the GDR texts one frequently encounters sentences in which a verb has been nominalised and the agent of it deleted. Often the agent is recoverable, and the sentence is unproblematic; often, however, this is not the case, and the nominalisation can lead to ambiguities as to the precise transitivity-roles of the participants.

Frequently the actions performed by the workers are not presented in actional sentences with the workers as theme and agent, but, rather, the processes are nominalised and appear as an adjunct of the workers, as in example 45:

- 45 Tiefgreifende Wandlungen vollziehen sich auch durch die aktive Teilnahme der Werktätigen an der Leitung und Planung der Gesellschaft durch die weitere Vervollkommnung der sozialistischen Demokratie. (9/86)

Here Wandlungen is both the theme of the sentence, and the agent/affected entity of the reflexive verb; the workers appear in an adjunct clause which is itself affected by another adjunct clause. The processes in both cases are nominalised, and while Teilnahme here is clearly actional, with Werktätige as the agent, the situation with Leitung und Planung and Vervollkommnung is less straightforward: if they are affective, with their agents deleted and Gesellschaft and sozialistische Demokratie as the affected entities, the implication is that the workers are the agents, at least of Leitung und Planung. There is possibly a more indefinite agent for Vervollkommnung: it could be the ML Party, the development of society as a whole, or historical necessity. This ambiguity allows for the possibility of reading the sentence as containing much more independent action on the part of the workers than may actually be the case (see Kress and Trew (1978a:765)).

In this subsection we consider the use of a variety of nominalised verbs with genitive nouns, and discuss the types of ambiguity that can arise when this construction is employed. We demonstrate that it

is frequently impossible to determine unequivocally the patterns of agency and initiation in a sentence, but that the issue of who performs an action, and whether this is done spontaneously or as a result of external initiation, is left unclear. In the examples discussed in this subsection it is possible to perceive the workers, farmers and others as the agents of the nominalised processes, which would accord with the ML doctrine which states that they are the leading force in society. It is also possible, however, to perceive them as the entities affected by the processes, the agents being deleted and non-recoverable, but being by implication in each case the ML Party; this accords with the ML doctrine of the Party as vanguard, and is similarly ideologically desirable.

In the context of our present discussion of the linguistic representation of power-relationships and leadership within society, this linguistic device is clearly very important, since it permits obfuscation of situations whenever ideologically desirable, such as where there are contradictions or incongruences between ideology and reality, or where there are ambiguities in the ideology itself, problematisation of which is felt to be undesirable.

4.1.3.1 Entwicklung

In the sentences below containing the construction Entwicklung + genitive it is impossible to determine conclusively in each case whether the nominalised verb is being used in an intensive or reflexive sense (jemand entwickelt sich) or whether it is to be taken as an extensive verb (jemand entwickelt ihn). The latter usage of entwickeln in political contexts in the GDR is well-known (5).

On the construction nominalised verb + genitive in English, Kress and Hodge write:

Actionals are regularly transformed into the of-form
. . . We could talk of Chomsky's construction of a grammar, where the relationship between actor and action is represented as another type of possessive relation. It is a significant fact about English culture that the relationship between an actor and the action initiated and carried out by him (in a nominalised form) is frequently realised as a possessive one: Chomsky's construction. It is syntactically different from that between action and affected: the construction of a

grammar . . . (Kress and Hodge (1979:118))

This distinction does not apply to German, where the choice of two forms of the possessive does not exist in this form, or only rarely with proper names. As a result, it is unclear in the examples given here whether the nominalised verb was performed by or on the apparent possessor of it. This dual usage of Entwicklung makes it possible to give two readings for each of the sentences below, the genitive participants being more or less active according to the reading chosen. In sentence 46 the agent of both Herausbildung and Entwicklung is left imprecise; since the only animate participants in the sentence are the working people, the casual reader will probably take these to be the agents of the processes:

- 46 Die Herausbildung der sozialistischen Moral ist untrennbarer Bestandteil der Entwicklung des gesamten politischen und weltanschaulichen Bewußtseins der Arbeiterklasse und der anderen Werktätigen. (10/164)

In the example above it is unclear as to whether the workers are the agents of Entwicklung, or whether it is a reflexive process which happens automatically without external intervention; the following sentences contain similarly ambiguous constructions:

- 47 Die wachsende Stärke des Sozialismus, die Politik der sozialistischen Staaten schaffen günstige Bedingungen für den Kampf und die Bewußtseinsentwicklung des Proletariats. (10/59)

Whichever way this sentence is read, the initiation of the process of Entwicklung is the strength and virtue of socialism.

- 48 Je umfangreicher die Produktion, je größer die Maßstäbe in der Forschung und in der Wirtschaft werden, je tiefer die internationale sozialistische Zusammenarbeit wird, um so notwendiger ist es, Schlüsselfragen der gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung zentral zu lösen. (10/99)

Here again it is unclear whether the Entwicklung is initiated by some external body or whether it happens automatically. The sentences below are similar:

- 49 Entscheidend für alle Erfolge unserer sozialistischen Landwirtschaft bleibt die ständige Entwicklung der Genossenschaftsbauern, die sich durch die Bündnispolitik unter Führung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei vollzog. (7/62)

- 50 Die Weiterentwicklung der Genossenschaftsbauern äußert sich vor allem in einer neuen, schöpferischen Art zu arbeiten sowie in einer höheren politischen Bildung, in einem gewachsenen sozialistischen Bewußtsein. (7/63)

- 51 Hier vollzieht sich die politische, geistig-kulturelle und moralische Entwicklung der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen

Werkstätigen. (8/29)

(Note: in the sentence above it is impossible to discover precisely what hier refers to: there are four possible phrases in the preceding two sentences. We deal in more detail with issues of cohesion such as this in a separate section below).

- 52 Somit ist auch die weitere Entwicklung der Arbeiterklasse der grundlegende Prozeß in der Entwicklung der sozialistischen Gesellschaft. (10/132)
- 53 Die Arbeiterklasse ist als herrschende Klasse zur gestaltenden Kraft auch ihrer eigenen Entwicklung geworden. (10/125)

4.1.3.2 Einsatz

The nominalised verbs in the sentences below cause ambiguities as to agency-patterns in the same way as Entwicklung above: it is unclear whether Einsatz is the nominalised form of einsetzen + affected entity, or of sich einsetzen.

- 54 Diesen Wirkungsgrad zu erhöhen, also die Arbeitsproduktion zu steigern, erfordert den rationellen Einsatz der Arbeitskraft, der Arbeitsmittel und der Arbeitsgegenstände, dh aller Elemente des Arbeitsprozesses. (10/52)
- 55 Eine wichtige Reserve für die Effektivitätssteigerung besteht im effektiveren Einsatz der vorhandenen Arbeitskräfte. Dabei geht es um den zweckmäßigen und effektiven Einsatz jedes Beschäftigten, auch um das richtige Verhältnis von Produktionsarbeitern zu Beschäftigten in der Verwaltung. (10/94)

The possibility of reading Einsatz in the sentences above as extensive is demonstrated in the sentence below, where einsetzen is used finitely in this sense:

- 56 Zu den Grundfragen der Kombinate und Betriebe, die sie eigenverantwortlich zu lösen haben, gehört zB . . . frühzeitig zu erkennen, wie Forschungs- und Entwicklungskräfte am wirksamsten einzusetzen sind, die Werkstätigen zu qualifizieren. (10/99)

4.1.3.3 Other nominal constructions

In sentences 46-56 above, as well as the ambiguity concerning the agency-patterns of the nominalised verbs, there is also a lack of clarity with regard to the initiators of the processes involved. The

examples below illustrate similar constructions with similar semantic difficulties involving other nominalised verbs.

- 57 Langfristig, unter Beteiligung der Werktätigen wird die volkswirtschaftliche Entwicklung geplant. (8/47)

Here it is ambiguous as to whether Beteiligung is affective or receptive and consequently how actively - and voluntarily - the workers are involved, ie whether they initiate their own participation in the planning process or whether they are drawn in by some other initiators that are deleted here. Entwicklung here is clearly receptive, in that external forces can initiate it.

- 58 Alljährlich werden unter aktiver Teilnahme von Millionen gewerkschaftlich organisierten Werktätigen die Pläne der Betriebe und Einrichtungen ausgearbeitet. (8/88)

In this sentence Teilnahme is unequivocally actional; the initiator of the organisation of the workers into unions is less clear, however - organisiert could be either receptive or reflexive, ie membership could be either compulsory or voluntary. This issue is left unclear, the main point simply being that the workers are organised. According to socialist thinking, the workers should want to be in unions in order to present a united front to the employers in a capitalist system and to be able to help run the country in a socialist system, and so the line between voluntary and compulsory participation becomes blurred. The sentence below is similar, with clear external initiators for the nominalised Teilnahme;

- 59 "Es ist ein ständiges Anliegen unserer Partei, die Formen der Teilnahme der Werktätigen an der Leitung und Planung der gesellschaftlichen Prozesse zu vervollkommen". (8/63, quoting Neues Deutschland, 7 10 74)

A related construction is seen in the following sentence, where the workers are unambiguously drawn into the process by an external agent:

- 60 Eine Seite des demokratischen Sozialismus ist folglich die breiteste Einbeziehung der Werktätigen in die Vorbereitung, Beschlußfassung und Verwirklichung der staatlichen Aufgaben. (8/81)

Here all the processes are nominalised since they form part of a definition where brevity is important; they are all affectives, and the workers are co-agents of them. They do not initiate their own participation, however, and the agent of Einbeziehung is deleted; the effect of this is to make the inclusion of the workers appear more like a permanent feature of the system rather than something that happens because someone decides it should happen, and also to ensure

that as a result of this impression the reader will not question who is the initiator in real life. The deletion and blurring of initiation in connection with this ideologically sensitive area is crucial in glossing over and appearing to resolve the issues of voluntariness and compulsion.

In sentence 61 below the nominalised Annäherung is ambiguous in the same way as Entwicklung and Einsatz above: if it is from the verb annähern, then the Genossenschaftsbauern are the affected entity and the agent of the process is deleted; conversely, if it is from the reflexive sich annähern, then the Genossenschaftsbauern are the agents of the process and, since no external initiators are mentioned, also, at least by implication, the initiators of their own action:

- 61 Hieran wird der allmähliche, schrittweise Annäherungs-
 prozeß der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern an die Arbeiter-
 klasse sichtbar. (7/63)

In the sentence below Arbeiterklasse appears on a first reading to be the agent of all the nominalised verbs. This is not necessarily the case, however: it is possible to read the sentence as having no recoverable agent for Leitung and Planung, and also for Ausübung, where the working class is the possessor of power but not the group that exercises it directly or on its own initiative. This ambiguity is not resolved by recourse to the surrounding text; it is not clear precisely who is doing what or why:

- 62 Die zentrale staatliche Leitung und Planung der Volks-
 wirtschaft verkörpert wesentliche Seiten der Ausübung
 der politischen Macht der Arbeiterklasse. Sie orientiert
 alle gesellschaftlichen Kräfte auf einheitliche Ziele
 und gewährleistet die soziale Sicherheit der Werktätigen.
 (10/99)

In sentence 63 the agent of the process is deleted, and the reader has no information as to who it might be; the suggestion is that the working class and the Party played the major role in the actions mentioned, but in fact Führung could refer simply to administrative or ideological, rather than practical, leadership:

- 63 Unter der Führung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei
 wurde ein revolutionär-demokratischer Staatsapparat
 geschaffen, das Monopolkapital entmachtet, die Groß-
 grundbesitzer enteignet und das Volksbildungswesen
 demokratisiert. (7/73)

In a section dealing with the respective roles of the working class and the Party, the title of a subsection reads thus:

64 Die Führung der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werk-
tätigen durch die ML Partei. (9/53)

This is a superb piece of (presumably unintentional) ambiguity: the phrase could be read either as meaning that the working class and the other workers rule through the Party, ie with the Party as their tool, or, which is more likely in this context, that the working class is led by the Party.

The ambiguity in the subtitle above is also seen in the heading below:

65 Die Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands - Vortrupp
der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen der DDR.
(8/17)

This example could be read as meaning that the SED is separate from, although related to, the working class, and that it leads the working class and the other workers, ie the Party is in the role of initiator. Alternatively, the Party can be seen as part of the working class which the latter uses as an instrument in its activities. Sentence 66 is similarly ambiguous:

66 Die entscheidenden politischen Grundlagen der sozialistischen Gesellschaft in der DDR sind: die führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse, die Führung der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen durch die ml Partei sowie das Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern und den anderen Werktätigen. (8/42)

In sentence 67 it is unclear whether die Werktätigen is agent or instrument of die politische Machtausübung:

67 Die politische Machtausübung durch die Werktätigen kommt in allen Bereichen unseres gesellschaftlichen Lebens zum Ausdruck: Die Arbeit und Stellung der Werktätigen in den Betrieben, die Achtung, die sie genießen, die Rechte, die sie haben, und die Sorgfalt, mit der sie tätig sind, all das ist untrennbar mit der politischen Machtausübung durch die Werktätigen verbunden. (8/43)

The sentence below, which is the second in the text introduced by the headings quoted in example 65 above, continues the ambiguity surrounding the relative positions of the Party and the working class; here the Party is the apparent agent of the verb, and the sentence could be read as meaning that the fact of belonging to the Party unites the various groups of workers - on this reading the Party would be the agent of a process. It is also possible, however, to read the

sentence in a more figurative way, with vereinigt being almost metaphorical and the sense of the sentence being that "the most progressive members of A, B and C belong to the Party", ie the focus of the sentence could lie with the various groups of members, rather than with the Party itself:

- 68 (Die SED) vereinigt in ihren Reihen die fortschrittlichsten Angehörigen der Arbeiterklasse, der Genossenschaftsbauern und der werktätigen Intelligenz. (8/17)

Another ambiguous usage of the verb vereinigen is illustrated in example 69, where it is impossible to determine whether Vereinigung is a nominalisation of the reflexive or the extensive form of the verb. If the former is the case, no external initiator is mentioned and the process appears spontaneous and independent; if the latter is the case, the agent of the process is deleted and irrecoverable. This complex construction is then itself presented in an ambiguous prepositional phrase, where it could be read either as agent or as the instrument of some other unnamed agent.

- 69 Als wichtigste Voraussetzung für eine erfolgreiche antifaschistisch-demokratische Entwicklung wurde die Einheit der Arbeiterklasse durch die Vereinigung der KPD und SPD zur SED geschaffen. (8/5)

A final example of the variation in the transitivity roles of the working class is provided in example 70, in the first sentence of which the working class is clearly the agent/possessor of ML; in the second sentence the situation is reversed, ML is the agent and the working class the beneficiary of its action. This leaves in abeyance the question as to whether the working class is powerful and creative in its own right, or whether it can only become so as a result of external stimuli.

- 70 Als Trägerin des ML verfügt die Arbeiterklasse über eine wissenschaftliche Lehre, wie die neue Gesellschaft aufgebaut werden muß. Die Weltanschauung des ML gibt der Arbeiterklasse und allen anderen Werktätigen eine zuverlässige Orientierung für das Verhalten und Handeln in allen Bereichen des Lebens, bei der Gestaltung der politischen Beziehungen der sozialistischen Gesellschaft. (8/14)

4.1.4 Deleted agents

Deletion of the agents of a process is extremely common in German, in passive constructions and in conjunction with nominalised verbs; in the majority of cases this is unproblematic and unremarkable, since the agents are recoverable from the context and the sense of the construction is not disturbed. In the GDR textbooks there are, however, relatively frequent occurrences of sentences with deleted agents, where the agents are not recoverable and where the meaning of the sentence is thus unclear or ambiguous. We are not suggesting that this is a result of a conscious and deliberate effort on the part of the authors of the textbooks; it does, however, mean that the reader can be confused or misled, and indicates some grey areas within the ML ideology where possibly there is a lack of precision (6).

In sentence 71 below the agent of befähigt is deleted, and not recoverable from the context; the only other animate participant mentioned apart from the working class as the affected entity is the Party; it is therefore likely that the Party will be understood on a superficial reading of this sentence to be the agent of the process as well as the initiator, which is the only syntactic role that it actually occupies:

- 71 Unter ihrer (der Partei) Führung wurde die Arbeiterklasse befähigt, große historische Leistungen zu vollbringen.
 (7/73)

In sentence 72 the prepositional phrase is ambiguous in the same way as in sentences 34-36 above, in that it can be read as either agent or instrument. Since Reproduktion is inanimate the phrase is unlikely to be read as agentive, in which case the sentence has no agent; the process is likely to be understood as being carried out by the Werk-tätige themselves, or simply to happen inevitably as a result of the policies of the SED. Both these readings would be ideologically acceptable:

- 72 Nur durch die intensiv erweiterte sozialistische Reproduktion können sowohl die ständig wachsenden gesellschaftlichen als auch die persönlichen materiellen und geistig-kulturellen Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen immer besser befriedigt werden.
 (10/71)

The agency-patterns of sentence 73, which appears as a paragraph in

its own right in the textbook, are not immediately apparent and not recoverable from the context:

- 73 Der demokratische Zentralismus besteht im Zusammenhang von zentraler Führung und Verbindlichkeit der Beschlüsse und schöpferischer Aktivität und Kontrolle der Werktätigen. (10/139)

Firstly it is unclear as to whether der Werktätigen applies to all the nominalised verbs, or only to Kontrolle. In the former case the Werktätige would be read as the agents of all the processes and the sentence would be unproblematic. In the latter case the second problem arises, namely whether the Werktätige are the agents or the affected entities of Kontrolle; if the latter is the case, the agent of the nominalised process is deleted and non-recoverable. It is likely that this unnamed agent will also be the agent of Führung, Beschlüsse and Aktivität, but this is not made explicit, and again, since the Werktätige are the only animate participants in the sentence, a superficial reading, particularly by a young and linguistically relatively unsophisticated reader, would probably understand them to be the agent of all the processes involved (?). Similarly in sentence 74 the "implied agent" of schaffen is the SED, although in fact the main verb in this sentence is impersonal and the agent of schaffen deleted:

- 74 Dank der zielstrebigen Politik ihrer Partei, der SED, gelang es, ein festes Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern und den anderen werktätigen Schichten zu schaffen. (7/37)

The effect on receivers of this type of construction in English has been investigated by psychologists, and Taylor sums up the results of their work as follows:

Truncated passives (passives without an explicit subject) tend to be recalled verbatim, and not as full passives or as actions, while full passives are likely to be changed to active forms . . . If the context supplied information about the deleted actor, verbatim memory for the truncated passives decreased, and subjects tended to recognise alternate sentence forms (actives and full passives) expressing the meaning of the truncated passives plus the contextually given actor. (Taylor (1976:117), referring to Slobin (1968) and Franks and Batsford (1974))

If these results are also applicable to German, then there are two conclusions that can be drawn with regard to the likely impact on receivers of sentences such as those discussed in this subsection. Either the sentences will be recalled verbatim, and not transformed

or modified in any way when reproduced; in this case the pupils would be unlikely to make any effort to discover who is the agent of the processes involved, and why they are acting. Alternatively, the "implied agents" which we have discussed here could be understood as the actual agent, and thus perceived as being more active than is actually stated in the text. Whichever of these is the case, it appears that the attempt by those in charge of the GDR education system to create a closed universe and discourage criticism is being supported by the type of syntactic structure employed in the texts.

4.1.5 The working class and other groups

Just as the relationship between the working class and the Party is not always clear, as revealed in the types of constructions discussed above, so also there are similar ambiguities and inconsistencies surrounding the relationship between the working class and other groups of workers in socialist society. A discussion of some of the linguistic constructions which reveal this can throw into relief some areas of controversy within ML and again give insights into the interplay between language and ideology.

The ML philosophy states that the industrial working class, whilst being the main force in society that will bring about the revolution and develop socialism, will need help in doing this from other groups, both workers and non-workers:

Die Arbeiterklasse kann ihre historische Mission nur erfüllen, wenn sie im engen Bündnis mit allen werktätigen Klassen und Schichten handelt . . . So wird die Arbeiterklasse zu einer selbständigen politischen Kraft, die in dem Maße, wie ihre Bewußtheit, ihre Organisiertheit und ihr Einfluß auf andere Werktätige wachsen, die Kraft und die Fähigkeit erlangt, in der sozialistischen Revolution die Kapitalistenklasse zu entmachten, ihre eigene Herrschaft zu errichten und den Sozialismus aufzubauen.
(WB:soz St:16) (Our emphasis)

The precise nature of this Bündnis is not always clear, and it is presented by means of a variety of syntactic constructions:

a) The working class is seen as the sole agent of the process, as a result of which other groups are enabled to act:

75 Der Sieg des Sozialismus in einer größeren Gruppe von Ländern beweist: indem sich die Arbeiterklasse von der

Herrschaft des Kapitalismus befreit und den Sozialismus errichtet, befreit sie zugleich alle übrigen Werktätigen von Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung. (7/7)

The sentences below are similar, in that the working class is the sole agent of the verbs, and the other groups are the affected entities or adjuncts to the actions of the working class:

76 Die Arbeiterklasse festigte ihre sozialistische Staatsmacht und schuf ein festes Bündnis mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern, der Intelligenz und den anderen Werktätigen. (9/85)

77 Die Arbeiterklasse festigt ihre Führungsrolle, indem sie ein festes Bündnis vor allem mit den werktätigen Bauern und der fortschrittlichen Intelligenz eingeht und diese in die Ausübung ihrer politischen Macht einbezieht. (10/134)

In these sentences the fact that the working class is the main force is emphasised through the possessives: it is ihre Führungsrolle, ihre sozialistische Staatsmacht, and other groups are included in ihre Macht. Occasionally the working class is explicitly presented as superior to the other groups of workers, as in sentence 78:

78 (Der Staat) ist das Instrument der von der Arbeiterklasse geführten Werktätigen bei der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft und auf dem Wege zum Kommunismus. (10/141)

b) The type of construction found in the sentences below is extremely common: the working class is a kind of "main agent" and the other groups of workers, although also agentive, are in a subordinate position. They are in an adjunct clause, and the fact that they are not "full agents" is revealed in the use of a singular verb:

79 In diesen Staaten übt die Arbeiterklasse die politische Macht im Bündnis mit allen anderen werktätigen Klassen und Schichten mit dem Ziel aus, das materielle und kulturelle Lebensniveau aller Werktätigen ständig zu erhöhen. (8/10)

80 In der DDR hat die Arbeiterklasse, im Bündnis mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern, der Intelligenz und den anderen Werktätigen die Macht. (7/89)

81 Die Arbeiterklasse errichtete unter der Führung der SED und im Bündnis mit den Genossenschaftsbauern und allen anderen Werktätigen den Sozialismus. (7/11)

c) The working class and other groups are shown acting in unison, both of them performing the same syntactic role and being equally active:

82 In der Produktionstätigkeit entwickelt sich das Klassenbewußtsein der Arbeiter und der anderen Werktätigen am unmittelbarsten. (10/64)

83 Durch die Vereinigung der beiden Arbeiterparteien und das Bündnis zwischen der Arbeiterklasse, den werktätigen Bauern und den anderen antifaschistisch-demokratischen Kräften waren die Voraussetzungen gegeben, um die Monopolherren und Kriegsverbrecher gegen deren Widerstand zu enteignen und ihre Betriebe in Volkseigentum zu überführen. (7/28)

d) More frequently than this, however, one finds constructions such as the following, where the alliance is apparently between equal groups, but is in fact presented as an alliance of the working class with other groups, ie the working class is still the main group:

84 Das Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern, den Angehörigen der Intelligenz und den anderen Schichten des Volkes ist eine unantastbare politische Grundlage der DDR. (8/30)

85 Auf dem sozialistischen Eigentum beruhen die Macht der Arbeiterklasse und ihr Bündnis mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern, der Intelligenz und den anderen Werktätigen. (10/66)

The examples above raise the issue of the relationship between the working class and the farmers, the other major economic group in the GDR. Immediately after the Second World War a major concern of those in power in what is now the GDR was to end all forms of inequality between town and country, and to introduce industrial methods into agriculture (see for example Sontheimer and Bleek (1975:159f)). Thus there was concern to show industrial workers and farmers as equals, making an equal contribution to the economy of the state and being treated as equals by the state. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to find that constructions in which the farmers and the working class occupy the same syntactic - and thus by implication the same extralinguistic - role are relatively rare in the school texts. Much more common are constructions such as those quoted below, where the alliance is presented in terms of the relations of the working class with other groups: the working class is still the defining factor:

86 Einen besonderen Platz nimmt das Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern ein. (8/27)

87 (Die Partei) muß die Arbeiterklasse im Bündnis mit der Bauernschaft und den anderen werktätigen Schichten zu einheitlichem, organisiertem, diszipliniertem Handeln im Kampf zum Sturz der Bourgeoisie, zur Errichtung der Diktatur des Proletariats und zum Aufbau der neuen Gesellschaftsordnung, des Sozialismus und Kommunismus, führen. (9/62)

88 (Die Diktatur des Proletariats) verwirklicht sich im festen Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit der werktätigen Bauernschaft, der Intelligenz und anderen Werktätigen. (10/12)

The farmers are not usually mentioned in conjunction with the working class except in contexts such as the land-reform, the introduction of new methods in agriculture etc, and even then they are syntactically subordinate to the working class. This could be seen to suggest that their equality with industrial workers is theoretical rather than actual, and that as industry, science and technology develop, agriculture is again declining in status.

Although the farmers and the Werktätige are usually seen as inferior to the working class in terms of their political development and of their importance in initiating change, they are nonetheless seen as important instruments in the struggle for socialism, and the work they perform to this end is acknowledged, as revealed in the sentences below. In these sentences the Werktätige perform, on external initiation, a series of processes to help political and economic progress:

erkennen, lösen, Handeln:

89 Die Kenntnis der objektiven Gesetze der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung befähigt die Werktätigen unter Führung der ml Partei, die Widersprüche in der Entwicklung der sozialistischen Entwicklung zu erkennen und zu lösen. Die Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik, die der IX. Parteitag der SED beschlossen hat, kann geradezu als ein Kampfprogramm zur Lösung des Widerspruchs zwischen der Entwicklung der materiellen Produktion und der Befriedigung der Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen angesehen werden. Das gemeinsame Handeln der Werktätigen zur Lösung des Widerspruchs zwischen Produktion und Bedürfnisse und anderer Widersprüche unter der Führung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer ml Partei wird daher zu einer mächtigen Triebkraft in der Entwicklung der sozialistischen Gesellschaft. (10/159)

However, even when the Werktätige are seen as agents, their spheres of action and influence are restricted. In the sentences below the workers are the main, but not the sole, agents; other groups that may have influence are not mentioned, however, thus leaving imprecise the exact degree of importance accorded to the workers:

90 Über die Erhöhung des materiellen und kulturellen Lebensniveaus wird in erster Linie durch die Werktätigen an ihrem Arbeitsplatz selbst entschieden. (8/45)

In sentence 91 the agent of the passive verb is deleted, and the workers included in an adjunct clause; since they are the only agents that actually appear, they will probably on a casual reading of the text be understood as the sole, or at least major, agents of the verb:

91 Wichtige staatliche Entscheidungen werden mit den Werk-
 tätigen zusammen vorbereitet. (8/81)

In these examples the workers are presented as taking decisions themselves that will affect their lives; but this usage is in fact figurative: the results of their work are the really decisive factor. We might term this "the syntax of apparent involvement"; this is further illustrated in the sentence below, where Ergebnis and Arbeit are nominalised, leaving all the "action" of the sentence concentrated in entscheiden, which is again used figuratively:

92 In unserem sozialistischen Staat entscheiden die Werk-
 tätigen durch die Ergebnisse ihrer Arbeit selbst darüber,
 wie ihr persönliches Einkommen steigt und sich damit ihre
 Lebenslage verbessert. (7/66)

The syntactically subordinate position that is frequently occupied by the Werkstätige directly reflects ML teaching; the following is an official definition of the term:

Werkstätiger: ein Mensch, der durch eigene Arbeit seinen Lebensunterhalt verdient, den Reichtum der Gesellschaft vergrößert und nicht auf Kosten fremder Arbeitskraft, nicht von Ausbeutung anderer lebt. Ein Werkstätiger kann der Arbeiterklasse, der werktätigen Bauernschaft (im Sozialismus der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern), der Intelligenz angehören, kleiner Warenproduzent oder Gewerbetreibender sein. (Böhme et al (1978:1010))

Whilst there are many people in this category, and whilst their work is important, they are not politically so significant as the working class, who are the main group working for the advancement of socialism. This ideological differentiation between the two groups is reflected in the syntax of the textbooks, and whilst occasionally the Werkstätige may be depicted as acting independently, this is not the norm. Whilst it is possible to be both a Werkstätiger and a member of the working class, it is the latter status that is more valued.

4.1.6 The state

The socialist state is mentioned in a series of at least partly contradictory constructions, as discussed below. This suggests that as in the case of the other relationships dealt with above, there is some ideological uncertainty surrounding the role of the state and its influence on the lives of the citizens of the GDR. Whilst in some of

the examples cited below it is clearly very powerful, it is also clear that the authors of the textbooks are going to great lengths to emphasise the essentially instrumental nature of the state and its subordination to the wishes and desires of the people.

Sometimes the state is presented as the agent of a process, or as the initiator of a process on the part of another entity:

- 93 Unser Staat hat seit jeher die Ausbildung des Nachwuchses der Arbeiterklasse als eine vordringlich zu lösende Aufgabe betrachtet. (8/100)
- 94 (Der Staat) ermöglicht, daß die Werktätigen unentgeltlich sozial betreut werden, und er trifft umfassende Maßnahmen, sie gesund zu halten. (10/81)
- 95 (Der Staat) realisiert durch seine Tätigkeit die Interessen der Arbeiterklasse, ist Instrument zur Verwirklichung ihrer historischen Mission. (10/134)

Rarely the state is seen as the affected entity of a process performed by another participant:

- 96 Die Arbeiterklasse muß gemeinsam mit ihren Verbündeten ihre politische Macht, insbesondere ihren Staat, konsequent gegen den Widerstand der Bourgeoisie einsetzen. (9/51)

Most frequently the state is presented, either lexically or syntactically, as the instrument of the working class or another group in society, which they use as part of the processes of which they are the agents:

- 97 Der sozialistische Staat - Hauptinstrument der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Bündnispartner beim Aufbau der sozialistischen Gesellschaft - wird ein Hauptgegenstand des Unterrichts sein. (8/9)
- 98 Daraus ergibt sich, daß der Staat ein wesentliches Instrument der Diktatur des Proletariats ist, daß aber ebenso die ml Partei und die Gewerkschaften die Macht des Proletariats durchsetzen und verwirklichen. (9/58)
- 99 Das Hauptinstrument, mit dem die Arbeiterklasse und ihre Verbündeten unter Führung der ml Partei die Entwicklung der sozialistischen Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft leiten, ist der sozialistische Staat. (10/108)
- 100 Mittels ihres Staates tritt die Arbeiterklasse gegen die Absichten und Ziele einer Minderheit auf und hält den Widerstand der Ausbeuter nieder. Gleichzeitig führt und aktiviert sie mit ihm die Mehrheit des Volkes auf dem Weg zum Sozialismus und Kommunismus. (10/134)

In the two examples below the state is on equal terms with the Party,

in that they are shown in the same syntactic role as joint agents of processes:

- 101 Das geschieht planmäßig und vorausschauend durch die
 Partei der Arbeiterklasse und den sozialistischen Staat.
 (10/67)
- 102 Die Partei der Arbeiterklasse und der sozialistische Staat
 lassen sich in ihrer Wirtschaftspolitik von den ökonomischen
 Gesetzen des Sozialismus leiten. (10/75)

Finally, the two sentences below reveal further lack of clarity in connection with the state: in sentence 103 the state is synonymous with the dictatorship of the proletariat, in sentence 104 the syntax is less clear - the two terms could be synonymous, or they could be different, with the state acting as the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

- 103 Das Hauptinstrument der politischen Machtausübung der
 Arbeiterklasse ist im Sozialismus der sozialistische
 Staat, die Diktatur des Proletariats. (10/84)
- 104 Insofern ist auch der sozialistische Staat, der die Funktion
 der Diktatur des Proletariats ausübt, das Machtinstrument
 der herrschenden Arbeiterklasse. (10/134)

4.1.7 The working class in capitalism

As we have demonstrated above, the presentation in the GDR textbooks of the working class in socialist society, and its relationships with other groups in society, can be problematic because of the variety of syntactic structures involved. This is not the case with the presentation in the GDR books of the workers under capitalism. In this case the workers are almost always presented as the entity affected by the actions of other groups or of the system itself in line with ML teaching (8).

- 105 Die Bourgeoisie betrachtet den Arbeiter als bloßen
 Kostenfaktor, was zum massenhaften Verschleiß von Gesund-
 heit und Leben der Arbeiter und vielfach zu ihrer
 geistigen Verkrüppelung durch unzureichende Bildung und
 ideologische Manipulierung führt. (9/44)

Here the workers are the entity affected by the main verb, which involves the classification of them by the capitalists in terms of capitalist economics; moreover in the rest of the sentence the results of this classification continue to affect them. The verbs are nominalised, which suggests that these effects are so common that they

are no longer regarded as isolated events but as "institutions" within the capitalist system. The sentence below is similar, in that the worker does not act spontaneously, but only as a result of external pressure, this subordinate position being reflected in the syntax:

106 Um leben zu können, ist der Arbeiter folglich gezwungen, das einzige, was er besitzt, seine Arbeitskraft, an den kapitalistischen Unternehmer zu verkaufen. (9/22)

In the sentence below the monopolies, rather than people on either an individual or a collective level, are the agents: features of the system have been personified and ensure the continuation of the system for their own ends:

107 Mit der Inflation senken die Monopole das Lebensniveau der Werktätigen. (10/22)

Once the workers have become aware of their position in capitalist society and their potential for changing it, they are shown as becoming more active and taking the initiative more often as their political consciousness grows:

Die Arbeiterklasse formiert ihre politischen Kräfte zum Widerstand gegen die Ausbeutermacht und kämpft für ihre soziale Befreiung. (WB:soz St:16)

Both the denotative meaning and the syntactic structure of this ML statement are reflected in the following sentences from the GDR school-books:

108 Jedoch wirkt die Arbeiterklasse durch ihren Klassenkampf dieser Tendenz (zur Verschlechterung der Lage des Proletariats) entgegen. (9/29)

Although there is no detail given here of the action taken by the working class, they are both agents and initiators, and are working with a particular aim in view. The next sentence in the text runs as follows:

109 Im Klassenkampf gegen das Kapital kann das Proletariat der Bourgeoisie ökonomische und soziale Zugeständnisse abtrotzen und seine Lage in gewissem Maße verbessern. (9/29)

Although effort and struggle are necessary here, the text stresses that the workers are able to do these things, ie if they try to carry them out they will be successful. (We discuss the use of modal verbs in more detail in a separate section).

At this stage in social development the workers are shown as not acting totally independently, but with the help and leadership of the socialist and communist parties (9):

- 110 Die kommunistischen Parteien der kapitalistischen Länder kämpfen an der Spitze breiter werktätiger Massen und an der Seite der sozialistischen Länder für internationale Entspannung, Zusammenarbeit und friedliche Koexistenz von Staaten unterschiedlicher Gesellschaftsordnung. (10/43)

Here the main agents are the Party, and the workers have become an adjunct or adverbial phrase defining the position of the Party. Although they too are struggling, they are not the main protagonists in this construction; they are simply active by association.

The subordination of the working class to the Party is also seen in the sentence below, where the workers are the beneficiaries of actions performed by the Party:

- 111 Die Kommunisten Lateinamerikas treten konsequent für die Klasseninteressen der Werktätigen ein. (10/44)

It thus appears that, whilst in a purely capitalist system the position of the workers is unambiguously that of affected entity or actor only on the initiation of someone else, the situation is less clear-cut once the workers achieve class-consciousness. Whilst the workers are often presented as acting for themselves to achieve their own liberation, at other times they are shown as subordinate to the Party and acting according to its dictates.

4.1.8 Conclusion

The discussion above of patterns of agency and initiation in the syntax of the GDR textbooks demonstrates that a methodology based on Halliday's concept of Transitivity is a useful tool in the investigation of the linguistic presentation of power-relationships. We have illustrated various ambiguities and apparent contradictions, both within the transitivity-patterns themselves, and between the syntactic presentation of the various groups in the textbooks and official definitions of their positions. Whilst it is not our intention to offer a critique of ML ideology, we believe that an analysis of this kind can provide an insight into areas of controversy within the ideology, and possibly reflect conflicts in the minds of the textbook authors themselves with regard to the official and actual amounts of power and influence wielded by the various groups in society.

4.2 Agency and initiation in the FRG texts

There is no well-defined and codified official ideology in the FRG containing definitive statements regarding the role and status of the workers as there is in the GDR, and it is thus not possible to investigate the degree of correspondence between ideological theory and syntax in the texts with respect to agency and initiation. It is possible, however, to investigate the syntactic representation of the workers and, on the basis of this, to discern the general view of them which is transmitted through the school-books, and to discuss the degree to which this view corresponds with generally accepted social theory.

We have discussed above in the section on Classification the lexical presentation of the workers and the employers in the FRG and the controversy surrounding some of the terminology used; it is clear from that discussion that the position of the workers within the FRG, and their relationship with other social groups, and the power-relations obtaining with respect to these groups, is very different from the situation in the GDR. This ideological and economic contrast is reflected in the different treatment accorded to the workers in the FRG textbooks: since they are not seen as the most important group in society, but simply as one among many, and since the pupils reading the textbooks are intended to form their own opinions on the issue, the workers, like most other groups and topics, are presented from a variety of standpoints, no single one of which is binding.

One of the main features of FRG society of which the establishment is particularly proud is its tolerance of differing beliefs and opinions, and the refusal to propagate any one particular set of beliefs as uniquely true and correct (10). As a result of this we do not expect to find the workers - or any other group - consistently presented in the same theoretical position or syntactic role, but we expect that these will vary according to the particular view being presented. The pattern of agency and initiation in many cases is very interesting, both with regard to the relationship between the workers and the employers and society as a whole, and to that between the workers and the unions.

In view of the prevalence of what might be termed the "social myth" of Partnerschaft (see the section on Classification), it is impossible to discuss the workers without also discussing the employers. The partnership between these two groups is depicted in the following sentences through the use of adjuncts; both groups occupy the same syntactic position, reflecting their theoretically equal social role:

- 112 Zur Regelung des Verhältnisses zwischen Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer gibt es zunächst die allgemeinen arbeitsrechtlichen Bestimmungen. (TP, p 117)

Here "both sides of industry" are presented as occupying equal positions within the economic system, neither taking precedence over the other. The sentence is an impersonal transformation of "jemand reguliert das Verhältnis zwischen Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer". In the sentence as it stands there is no agent for the nominalised Regelung, which gives the impression that the rules have become institutions, rather than being something created by specific groups with specific interests.

- 113 Zweitens gibt es Tarifverträge zwischen Gewerkschaften und Arbeitgeberverbänden, in denen beide Teile als selbständige Vertragsparteien Bedingungen für den jeweiligen Industriebereich aushandeln. (TP, p 117)

This sentence is very similar to sentence 112: the processes in the first part of the sentence have been removed and replaced with the impersonal es gibt, which again suggests that the frameworks for the agreements were worked out a long time ago and have become an established part of industrial relations. No details are given of how they were worked out, or by whom. All that remains for each set of participants to do is work out specific details to suit their own situation.

We have mentioned above in the section on Classification that the workers are frequently referred to collectively as die Gewerkschaften; within the relatively rigid framework of industrial relations mentioned above, the unions are typically seen acting independently and of their own volition. In the sentences below the unions are both agents and initiators of the processes involved:

- 114 Der Hauptvorstand der IG Chemie, Papier und Keramik in Hannover hat am Wochenende die rund 10 000 Arbeitnehmer von 3 Großbetrieben der hessischen Gummiindustrie aufgerufen, vom heutigen Montag an die Arbeit niederzulegen. (G&P, p 33)

- 115 Die Gewerkschaften all jener Länder, in denen Mutterfirmen der in Hessen bestreikten Betriebe ihren Sitz haben, hätten sich auch mit der IG Chemie, Papier und Keramik solidarisch erklärt. (G&P, p 33)
- 116 Die Gewerkschaften wollen nicht nur dafür sorgen, daß alle Arbeitnehmer angemessene Löhne bekommen, die Arbeitsbedingungen menschlich sind und der Urlaub ausreichend. Sie betrachten sich als Stützpfeiler der demokratischen Ordnung und erstreben durch Einführung der Mitbestimmung die Demokratisierung der Wirtschaft. (TP, p 138)

As in sentence 114 above, the unions are frequently depicted as the initiators of actions on the part of the workers as a whole. In the section following that sentence the workers are seen acting spontaneously and in unison:

- 117 Nach über 15 Jahren setzten damit die Arbeitnehmer in Hessen in einer größeren Tarifbewegung wieder die stärkste Waffe ein, die ihnen die Verfassung zugesteht: den Streik. (G&P, p 33)
- 118 Einschließlich der Gummiwerke Fulda, in denen die Belegschaft bereits am 7. November in den Streik getreten ist, haben nun rund 10 000 Beschäftigte in der hessischen Gummiindustrie die Arbeit niedergelegt. (G&P, p 33)

This same pattern of initiation and action is seen in the next example:

- 119 Am Dienstag forderte die IG Chemie, Papier und Keramik die 3100 Beschäftigten der Continental-Gummiwerke AG in Korbach auf, am heutigen Mittwoch die Arbeit nicht aufzunehmen. Die Continental AG ist dann nach Dunlop in Hanau, Gummiwerke Odenwald, Veith-Pirelli AG und den Gummiwerken in Fulda das fünfte Unternehmen, in dem die Arbeiter streiken. Insgesamt werden damit 14 600 Beschäftigte in der hessischen Gummiindustrie streiken. (G&P, p 33)

Here again the bulk of the workforce is seen as acting in response to an external stimulus from the unions; significantly the two groups are clearly separated in the text. Although the unions are theoretically made up of typical workers with the purpose of representing those workers, there is no suggestion of this in these extracts. Although as we have seen above the term Gewerkschaft is frequently used to refer to the workers as a whole, as distinct from the employers, in a "worker-only" context there are considerable differences both in the actual power and in the syntactic role of the two groups.

The inconsistencies discussed so far in the presentation of the respective roles of the unions and the workers in general are paralleled by contrasts in the treatment of the unions according to the context in which they are being discussed. It seems that, whilst the existence of unions in general, and their role in the abstract as protectors of

working people are welcomed, concrete actions undertaken by trades-unionists in pursuance of this role are sometimes presented in a less than favourable light. It appears to be the case that, whilst in the past the struggle of the workers for democratic rights was acceptable, even if this involved infringement of prevailing rules and customs, any infringements by present-day workers of existing rules and regulations are seen as unjustifiable and to be condemned. The authors of the FRG textbooks appear to take the view that present-day employment legislation is the best possible. Whilst clearly it would be extremely unlikely that a schoolbook would actively recommend lawbreaking as a justifiable means of achieving an end, the differing perspectives from which legislation of the past and present is viewed, and the apparent reluctance to question or criticise the present-day situation, again suggest that the authors of the textbooks are less impartial than they claim and do in fact, albeit not explicitly, support the status quo and the concept of Partnerschaft as it exists at present. We illustrate this in the examples below.

The genesis of the unions is presented in an unreservedly positive way:

- 120 Die Arbeiter waren fast bis Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts völlig von ihren Arbeitgebern abhängig. Niedrigste Löhne, Arbeitsbedingungen, die die Gesundheit ruinierten, Schutzlosigkeit bei Krankheit . . . Diese Not trieb die Arbeiter dazu, sich zu Arbeiterparteien und Gewerkschaften zusammenzuschliessen. Den organisierten Arbeitern gelang es dann, eine Gegenmacht gegen die Arbeitgeber zu bilden und Verbesserungen auf vielen Gebieten zu erreichen. Heute verhandeln Gewerkschaften und Arbeitgeberverbände jährlich um Tariflöhne . . . (TP, p 130)

Here the changes in the workers' behaviour are reflected in the agency patterns: as the workers begin to organise themselves they are no longer presented as the affected entity or attribuant (abhängig, ruiniert, schutzlos) but rather as the agents of processes themselves: sich zusammenschließen, bilden, erreichen are effectives performed during the period of innovation, verhandeln is intensive, and the unions are joint and equal agents of it with the employers.

The aims behind the activity of the unions in the present are also viewed largely favourably: the authors of the texts accept the positive evaluation (gerecht) put on union activities by the unions themselves in the following sentence:

- 121 Die Gewerkschaften, als Interessenverbände der Arbeit-

nehmer, sind bestrebt, eine größere Verteilungsgerechtigkeit herzustellen. (G&P, p 167)

In line with this overall approval of unions and their activities no overt adverse judgements are made when dealing with the issue of strikes; the following extract shows the whole series of events leading up to a strike as taking place within predetermined guidelines and as being essentially democratic and fair:

122 . . . Nachdem die Arbeitgeber die Forderungen der Gewerkschaft abgelehnt hatten, nachdem keine Schlichtungsvereinbarung zustandekam und die "Urabstimmung" der betroffenen Arbeitnehmer für Streik ausfiel, begann in den einzelnen Betrieben der Streik. (G&P, p 34)

The agency patterns of the verbs in the above sentence are as follows:
Arbeitgeber lehnen ab: this is clearly an affective action on the part of the employers, but it is done in response to a previous action of the workers, nominalised in Forderungen. Whilst no overt comment is made by the authors on this action of the unions, the term Forderung could itself be regarded as negative, from the standpoint of the employers, because it does not contain the element of potential compromise contained in other terms such as bitten or verlangen. It is significant that this is the term typically used in this type of situation - the unions initiate a process through a brusque action of their own, which may be regarded in a negative light by the employers and possibly by the general public, but is clearly positive in the view of the unions.

keine Schlichtungsvereinbarung kam zustande: this is an intensive verb with no human agent or initiator: no reason is given or responsibility attributed for the events occurring.

die Urabstimmung der Arbeitnehmer fiel für Streik aus: the nominalised form of the verb here has the effect of distancing the workers from the action of which they are the agents; they are still intimately connected with it through the possessive, but the active nature of the verb has been replaced by the more permanent-sounding substantive. Again, events which comprise the prelude to a strike are institutionalised.

All the above processes lead to der Streik begann: this is an intensive process presented as occurring spontaneously as the inevitable result

of a series of events. This series is itself presented in a relatively disjointed way; the causal relations between events are not made explicit, and no responsibility is attributed by the authors for the resulting strike.

As illustrated in the above example, the view taken of strikes in general, as opposed to particular ones which may be more or less justified, is that they are part of the democratic rights of workers to express their grievances; the procedure for doing this is clearly codified, and so long as people remain within these predetermined guidelines the authors approve of their actions and present them in a correspondingly positive light to the reader. The organisational mechanisms that have been created in the past have become part of the establishment and are accepted as part of everyday life. They can be made use of in the present-day context to help the workers who thus, by implication, no longer need to be creative or innovative as they were in the past, but simply to participate in a system set up by their predecessors (11).

While no overt judgement is made by the authors of the texts on the issue of strikes, it becomes clear through the texts quoted that the process is not as clear-cut and "neat" as the codified version suggests; for example, once a strike has begun, not all employees necessarily wish to take part, and at this point the theoretical solidarity of the workforce behind the unions is shown not to exist in reality. The result is conflict between the different groups of workers:

123 In den Dunlop-Werken in Hanau und bei Continental in Korbach . . . kam es zu Tumulten, als Arbeitswillige - zum Teil mit Möbel- und Viehwagen - in die Betriebe gebracht werden sollten. (G&P, p 33)

Here all the agents are deleted and have been replaced by receptives or impersonal verbs: no responsibility is attributed. The people who wanted to work were unable to get into the factories without outside help:

124 Die Tore der Dunlop-Werke in Hanau wurden am Mittwoch von 2000 bis 3000 Arbeitskräften blockiert; Streikbrecher kamen nicht durch . . . Die empörten Streikenden bildeten eine undurchdringliche Mauer und behinderten damit die Businessassen an der Ausübung ihres garantierten (und von niemandem bestrittenen) Rechts, frei und ohne Furcht vor Gewalt oder Drohung in dem bestreikten Werk zu arbeiten. (G&P, p 33)

In this extract the strikers are the agents and the strike-breakers

are the affected entities; the latter are prevented from becoming agents of a process themselves.

The judgement in these sentences seems to be in favour of the strike-breakers and against the unions; the reason for this is that the non-strikers are within their rights to refuse to strike, whilst the pickets are exceeding their clearly codified rights and duties. The authors of the text appear not to be against strikes in general, but are concerned that all parties should remain within the guidelines.

Thema Politik does not deal with the issue of strikes in any great detail; they are simply mentioned as follows in the glossary of terms at the end of the book:

125 Zur Durchsetzung ihrer Forderungen können sie (Gewerkschaften) ihre Mitglieder zur Arbeitsniederlegung (Streik) aufrufen. (TP, p 173)

There are two points to be made about the agency patterns here: firstly the unions are again presented as the initiators of action on the part of their members, rather than the reverse: in theory, the workers control the union, but here it is clearly separate from and at least partly independent of them. Secondly, here as elsewhere it is the employees that are presented as starting the strike - they again make Forderungen that are more or less acceptable to the employers; no suggestion is made that in the present-day context the working conditions or the attitude of the management could in turn be the initiator of the actions of the unions.

The employers themselves recognise and accept the unions as the main initiators in the field of industrial relations, although they (in the person of Hanns-Martin Schleyer who is being quoted here) do not regard this as necessarily a good thing:

126 Natürlich sind die Gewerkschaften immer die Fordernden. Das liegt in der Natur ihres Auftrages. (G&P, p 179)

Action on the part of the unions can be negated by retaliatory action on the part of the employers:

127 Am 28. April rief die Gewerkschaft der Druckindustrie den Streik der Drucker und Metteure aus, am selben Tag schlugen die Arbeitgeber mit Aussperrung, dem brutalsten Mittel des Arbeitskämpfrechts, zurück. (G&P, p 177)

The evaluative brutal here comes not from Schleyer but from Der Spiegel where the sentence originally appeared. Again, the unions are the initiators and the action takes place within clear legal guidelines.

4.2.1 Conclusion

In the case of the FRG books it emerges that, although the texts are claimed to present a multiplicity of standpoints and a variety of opinions, with regard to the relationship between workers and employers these different standpoints all use similar linguistic constructions, suggesting a fundamental similarity of view of the overall situation, despite the differing interests of the groups involved (see Kress and Trew (1978a:771-3)). The emphasis is on partnership and co-operation, keeping to agreed rules and procedures, and the abandonment of the class-struggle. In this instance there is little dissonance between the language of the textbooks and the ideology of those in power in the FRG. However, it appears that the textbooks do not always conform to the ideology of impartiality which is presented as so important in theoretical discussions of political education. An investigation of patterns of Transitivity suggests, like other aspects of the syntax of the FRG books, that the authors are in fact in favour of the maintenance of the status quo; the critical approach which, according to theory, should be upheld at all times, falls into abeyance when such fundamental tenets of FRG ideology as Sozialpartnerschaft are discussed.

Notes

- 1 In this thesis we differentiate between affective and effective verbs in the following way:
"She washed the clothes" is affective, with an existing object/affected entity;
"She wrote the book" is effective, in that the object is brought into existence as a result of the process. (See Halliday (1970a:147)).
This use of terminology is different from Halliday's, who uses the term effective in contrast to descriptive (Halliday (1967b:40)).

Monaghan (1979:201) gives an example of an effective clause as "Tom developed the pictures". See also Lyons (1968:439) on object of result.

Affected in Halliday's sense is defined by Monaghan thus:

Affected (key participant, Medium)

This is the pivotal role in the ergative analysis of clause organisation and is obligatory in all clauses with real participants (cf meteorological clause). In Halliday (1970c:157) affected is equated with Fillmore's 'objective'. Halliday's other terms for this participant role are 'key participant', which probably explains the use of 'K' as the symbol for 'affected' in (1973a:40) and 'Medium' (1977:211). (Monaghan (1979:195))

(Note: Monaghan's Halliday 1970c corresponds to our Halliday 1970a; Monaghan's 1973a corresponds to our 1973)

We use the term agent to denote both this participant-role, and also the performer of a process without an external initiator. On this topic see also Fowler et al (1979:198f).

- 2 For example, Schneider writes with reference to a speech by Honecker:

Nur an einer Stelle unterläuft Honecker ein Satz, der einen Zipfel der Wahrheit lüftet. Über die Zukunft der Landwirtschaft sagt er:

"Das ist ein gesetzmäßiger Prozeß, den unsere Partei auf lange Sicht plant und leitet". Dazu Gregor-Dellin: "Hier verrät das Vokabular den Betrüger. Es stellt den angeblichen Sachverwalter der Gesetze als Manipulator bloß. Also werden Gesetze nicht, nach Marx, von den wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Gegebenheiten bestimmt, sondern von der Partei, die selbst die 'gesetzmäßigen Prozesse plant und leitet'. Es ist mir nicht darum, nachzuweisen, daß Honecker den Marxismus verrät. Das Beispiel zeigt nur, daß durch den Selbstlauf einer vom Intellekt kaum mehr kontrollierten Sprache hier plötzlich für eine Sekunde das Visier geöffnet wird: Was hervorblitzt, ist der Zynismus des Zentralkomitees, in dem man sich längst darüber einig ist, daß Gesetzmäßigkeiten nicht eingehalten, sondern vorgeschrieben werden müssen". (W Schneider (1976:150))

See similarly Hellmann (1976:293), discussing Römer (1964):
Die Autorin belegt mit einleuchtenden Zitaten die quasi-religiöse führende Rolle der Partei "und ihre Verherrlichung als Über-Person . . ." Die "Partei" steht heute als das höchste Gut im System der Werte an erster Stelle.

Similarly H Wagner (1981:30f):

Plan, freiwilliger Entschluß, wollen . . . could be described as a purely linguistic transformation of the fixed norms of production into a number of voluntary acts.

See also Scholwin (1971:321) for a discussion of similar features in the language of the USA.

- 3 Halliday differentiates between the M-subject (mood) and the T-subject (transitivity) as follows:

In transitivity, the subject may be actor, goal, beneficiary or range. (Halliday (1967c:215)
(Our emphasis)

. . . Just as the 'logical subject' is a function defined by transitivity, so the 'grammatical subject' is a function defined by mood. (Halliday (1970a:160).
See also Lyons (1968:343).

- 4 Monaghan (1979:204) describes this function as follows:
Initiator. The participant role of the entity which instigates the process, eg "The sergeant" in "The sergeant marched the recruits".

- 5 See for example Kinne and Strube-Edelmann (1980:59):
entwickeln: /Neubedeutung/: jmdn. entwickeln:
durch politische Schulung heranbilden, fachlich und ideologisch weiterbilden . . .

Also Wood (1974:73):

Entwicklung is an historically determined, inevitable process dialectically opposed to stagnation or ständige Verelendung under capitalism. It is therefore positive, but at the same time it is narrower in its field of reference, as it cannot be used to refer to developments which run counter to the marxist concept of Fortschritt; Entwicklung, for example, is not possible under capitalism . . .

Similarly Fleischer (1977:15):

. . . entwickeln und wachsen . . . (setzen) einen stärkeren Akzent auf das noch nicht Ausgereifte, Vollkommene. Wird das Verb entwickeln verwendet, so kann die betreffende Erscheinung auch überhaupt noch nicht vorhanden sein, muß erst geschaffen werden. Das Reflexivum bedeutet "sich in der Entwicklung, in der Herausbildung befinden" oder auch "sich in der Weiterentwicklung befinden": "In der DDR entwickelt sich die sozialistische Nation".

See also Ludz (1980) on the use of Entwicklung, Entfaltung and other nominalised verbs, which Wagner believes Ludz sees as revealing "a view of man as a passive object, not the active subject of history"; see H Wagner (1981:26f).

6 On this issue Fowler writes:

. . . the passive structure, allowing agent-deletion, permits a discreet silence about who might (perform the process involved). Usually the agents and patients can be retrieved in an analytic reading, though of course the style (here of university regulations, but the statement applies to all formal registers) discourages such analysis. Sometimes nominalisation or passivisation makes it extremely difficult to infer the persons associated with the underlying verb. (Fowler (1980:11))

This deletion of information is of course crucial in a pedagogic text, where, as we have shown above, the pupils are expected to absorb the information in the text largely as it is presented, and not to analyse or question it. On the issue of deleted agents in passive constructions see also W Schmidt (1969b:525); Hodge and Kress (1974:11f); Ohmann (1976:175f); Fowler (1977:41); Trew (1978:43, 52) (also in Fowler et al (1979:110)); Kress and Hodge (1979:134). On the frequent non-synonymy of actives and passives, see Ziff (1966) *passim*.

7 On this issue see Ohmann (1976:178):

Another way of obscuring the agent: by making abstract nouns, or concrete nouns referring to hardware, the subject of verbs referring to acts that could in fact only be performed by people. Commonplaces of futurism are promises like "infrared laser radar using holographic techniques will provide three-dimensional spatial information . . ."

. . . Here agency has receded entirely behind an army of artificial constructs . . .

Also Frese (1972:107):

. . . Auf die hier sogenannten "syntaktischen Fiktionen" achten wir kaum. Sie sind jedoch das Kleingeld der politischen Sprache. Es ist weder sprachwidrig noch führt es normalerweise zu Mißverständnissen, wenn Geschehen als Handeln oder Handeln als Geschehen ausgegeben wird . . . Anders im politischen Sprechen. Hier wird die notwendige Unvollständigkeit der semantisch-pragmatischen Determination des syntaktischen Textaufbaus, d.h. die relativ große Unabhängigkeit der Syntax von der Pragmatik der Sprachsituation regelmäßig bewußt ausgenutzt, um (wahrhaft im Handumdrehen) politische Subjekte zu erzeugen bzw. zum Verschwinden zu bringen. So werden z.B. einerseits Konjunkturen des Wirtschaftsprozesses in Folgen gut kalkulierter wirtschaftspolitischer Maßnahmen verwandelt, andererseits die ebenso subjektlosen Krisen als bestenfalls eindämmbares Naturgeschehen beschrieben . . .

8 See for example the following definition: the workers are the affected entities throughout:

Kapitalismus: Gesellschaftsformation, die auf dem Privateigentum an den Produktionsmitteln beruht und deren Wesen davon geprägt ist, daß die Kapitalisten als Eigentümer der wichtigsten Produktionsmittel das Proletariat durch den Kampf seiner Arbeitskraft ökonomisch ausbeuten und politisch unterdrücken . . .

In der auf dem Privateigentum an den Produktionsmitteln beruhenden Klassengesellschaft ist der arbeitende Mensch von den Produktionsmitteln getrennt. Er wird entweder durch außerökonomischen Zwang (Sklaverei und Feudalismus) oder durch ökonomischen Zwang (Kapitalismus) genötigt, für die Besitzer der Produktionsmittel zu arbeiten . . . (WB:ML Soz:326, 329)

- 9 See for example the following quotation:

Unter Führung der ml Partei entwickelt die Arbeiterklasse ihr Klassenbewußtsein, eignet sich die ml Weltanschauung an und erhöht so ihre Organisiertheit und die Schlagkraft ihrer Aktionen. (WB:soz St: 16)

- 10 See for example the definition of Pluralismus given in G&P, p 310:

Pluralismus, pluralistisch ist im politischen Denken die Lehre von der notwendigen Mehrzahl von Gruppen, Schichten, Verbänden und Parteien, die gleichberechtigt nebeneinanderstehen und im Rahmen staatlicher Gesetze ihre Widersprüche austragen; pluralistisch ist eine Gesellschaft in einem Staat, der das Nebeneinander verschiedener Meinungen und Interessen gestattet.

There are several comments to be made on the language of the above extract:

eine notwendige Mehrzahl does not say who decided the plurality was necessary, but implies that this is a kind of God-given truth that, if complied with, will benefit the whole society. gleichberechtigt: in theory no preference or prominence is given to any group; many people would argue that this theory does not correspond with reality.

im Rahmen staatlicher Gesetze Widersprüche austragen: a system exists to resolve conflicts, and the resolution of conflicts is in turn part of the system. It is significant (a) that the opposing interest-groups have to remain within predetermined guidelines, (b) that the writers appear to believe that all conflict can be resolved in this way to the satisfaction of all.

Verschiedene Meinungen und Interessen: whilst implying that all opinions will be tolerated, this is not what the sentence says; implicit in the sentence as it stands is, as we discussed in an earlier section, the fact that there are limits to the tolerance of society, and that these limits would be imposed by society as a whole. This begs the whole question of participation, representation etc.

- 11 See for example the following extract:

Wird im Schlichtungsverfahren keine Einigkeit erzielt, kommt es zum Arbeitskampf, zum Streik . . . Vor Ausrufung des Streiks muß eine Gewerkschaft ihre Mitglieder in einer Urabstimmung darüber entscheiden lassen. Mindestens 75% der Abstimmungsberechtigten müssen sich für den Streik aussprechen. Während des Streiks zahlt die Gewerkschaft ihren Mitgliedern eine Unterstützung. Als "wilde" oder spontane Streiks werden die nicht von den Gewerkschaften gelenkten Streiks bezeichnet. Während

eines laufenden Tarifvertrags können die Gewerkschaften einen spontanen Streik nicht unterstützen, da sie an die Friedenspflicht gebunden und schadenersatzpflichtig sind. (G&P, p 177)

5 The interpersonal component: forms of address, questions and tasks

In sections 3 and 4 of Part III we have discussed ways in which aspects of the ideational component of language are employed in the two sets of school textbooks, and how an analysis of these can throw light on the relationship between language and ideology. In this and the next section we deal with ways in which the interpersonal component of language can contribute to the creation and maintenance of an ideology.

Halliday writes of the interpersonal function of language as follows:

This is quite different from the expression of content. Here, the speaker is using language as a means of his own intrusion into the speech event: the expression of his comments, his attitudes and evaluations, and also of the relationship that he sets up between himself and the listener - in particular, the communication role that he adopts, of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading and the like. (Halliday (1973:106); see also Halliday (1967c:199); (1969:248f); (1970a:159f); (1974b:50))

In this section we discuss firstly the forms of address employed in the two sets of texts, and consider what these reveal about the fundamental attitude of the senders to the receivers. We relate our findings in this discussion to the results of our discussion in an earlier section of the typology of the two sets of texts.

The main part of this section is concerned with the types of questions and tasks which are addressed to the pupils in each set of texts. We consider both the type of tasks set and the language in which they are expressed, and conclude that the nature of the questions and tasks found in the two sets of texts reflects the basic ideological positions of the education systems of the two German states with regard to the role of the individual. In the GDR texts the questions and tasks contribute to the creation of a closed universe of discourse, whilst the universe of discourse of the FRG texts is more open, and the individual has a greater opportunity to question and criticise.

5.1 Forms of address

In books 7 and 8 of the GDR texts questions are addressed or instructions given to the readers in the second person singular; the aim of this is

presumably that each child should feel that it is being called upon individually to perform a task, and that the text is addressed to him/her personally. In books 9 and 10 the form of address is Sie; this could be either singular or plural, but in view of the use of du in the two earlier books it is more likely to be singular. This singular usage contrasts with the use in most of the body of these texts of the first person plural: although the first section of book 7 is entitled Du und deine Zeit, one of the three subsections is entitled Der Sozialismus bestimmt das Gesicht unserer Zeit, and reference is made in the text to unsere Zeit, unsere Epoche, unser Staat, unsere Aufgaben and unsere Republik (7/6-11). Only once in this section is the singular form of address used in the body of the text:

- 1 Die Schule und die Pionierorganisation vermitteln dir das Rüstzeug, damit du hohe Leistungen beim weiteren Aufbau des Sozialismus vollbringen kannst. (7/11)

Elsewhere the first person plural is used, as in the following extract:

- 2 Die Zeit, in der wir leben, ist unsere Zeit. Indem wir sie bewußt gestalten, stärken wir mit jedem weiteren Schritt vorwärts unsere Republik und die ganze sozialistische Staatengemeinschaft, verändern wir das internationale Kräfteverhältnis zugunsten des Sozialismus und des Friedens. (7/11)

From the above it appears that, whilst the questions are addressed to each pupil individually, the bulk of the text is written in the first person plural in an attempt to project feelings of cohesion, harmony and trust by including the writers and the readers together in the same economic, social and ideological community.

On the use of pronouns as a component of an evaluative style, Schmidt and Harnisch write:

So wird mit dem Personal- und Possessivpronomen der 1. Person Plural unter bestimmten Kontextbedingungen eine Identifikation ausgedrückt, die sowohl für den Sender als auch für den Empfänger gilt . . . Die Verwendung der Pronomina der 1. Person Plural in dieser Funktion läßt sich besonders häufig in der Sprache der Politik nachweisen. Hier wird in der Regel Identifizierung, verbunden mit positiver Bewertung, ausgedrückt. (Schmidt and Harnisch (1972:104, 109)) (1)

The use of the first person plural possessive adjective continues throughout all four GDR books, as in the following examples:

- 3 unsere Republik (8/10); unser Staat (8/50); unsere Bürger (8/102); unsere Epoche (9/5 and 9/77); unsere Kräfte (10/61); unsere sozialistische Staatengemeinschaft (10/114).

This continually demonstrates to the readers that they are regarded as part of the same community as the authors of the texts, a community that the young people will in the future inherit (2). Moreover, the use of unser implies the inclusion of the readers within the ruling group, the possessors who, by reason of their possession, are in a position of power. Shared possession entails shared responsibility for and defence of that which is possessed; the pupils are already confronted with the Rechte und Pflichten des sozialistischen Staatsbürgers.

In the case of the FRG books, both TP and G&P address their readers collectively as ihr when setting tasks or asking questions; no attempt is made to address the readers as individuals. A collective form of address is continued throughout those parts of the texts addressed directly to the readers. The following expressions are typical:

a) Collective wir referring to people in the world at large, including the authors and the readers and, in particular, everyone in contemporary western-style societies:

- 4 Wenn wir miteinander reden, tauschen wir hörbare Zeichen aus . . . Wir verständigen uns nicht nur, indem wir sprechen, schreiben und lesen; auch Bewegungen und Verhaltensweisen gehören dazu. (TP, p 182)

- 5 Und daraus folgt drittens: wir müssen uns gründlich informieren. (G&P, p 94)

- 6 Nicht nur über die Massenmedien . . . wird unsere Meinung beeinflusst . . . (TP, p 90)

b) Collective wir/unser referring to citizens of the FRG only:

- 7 Die Wirtschaftsseiten unserer Zeitungen werden nur von wenigen gelesen. (TP, p 89)

- 8 Die Verfassung, also unser Grundgesetz, wurde von Menschen verschiedener Interessen ausgehandelt und Kompromisse wurden zwischen ihnen geschlossen. (G&P, p 82)

This usage is also found frequently on the contents pages of both books in the titles of the various chapters and sub-sections:

- 9 In welcher Gesellschaft leben wir? . . . Wie man unsere Gesellschaft versteht . . . Was man von uns erwartet, was man uns gestattet . . . Das politische System, in dem wir leben, . . . Sind wir unterwegs zum vereinten Europa? (G&P Inhaltsverzeichnis)

- 10 Wir sind besser als die anderen? . . . Herrscht bei uns Friede? (TP Inhaltsverzeichnis)
- c) Collective wir referring to the authors and the readers together:
- 11 Am Beispiel des Unfalls sehen wir, wie . . . (TP, p 84)
- 12 Was können wir tun, wenn wir mehr über die Parteien wissen wollen? (G&P, p 84)
- d) Collective wir referring to the authors only:
- 13 Wir haben diese Wege, die wir auch Kommunikationsabläufe nennen, in den Abbildungen 4 bis 8 widergegeben. (TP, p 87) (sic)
- 14 Im Laufe des Jahres 1970 wurden mehrere Pläne für eine Neuordnung der Länder vorgelegt; einen hiervon stellen wir vor . . . (G&P, p 91)
- e) Wir referring to the readers only:
- 15 Wir sammeln Wahlbroschüren und anderes Werbematerial; wir vergleichen die Aussagen auf Plakaten verschiedener Parteien; . . . wir analysieren Programm-Erklärungen . . . (G&P, p 90)
- f) Man referring to people in general as in categories a) and b):
- 16 Die drei Texte zeigen, daß man Informationen, die über Menschen gespeichert sind, auch ausnützen kann, und zwar nicht immer im guten Sinn. (TP, p 85)
- 17 Daraus folgt zweitens: man muß den Parteien auf die Finger und den Politikern auf den Mund schauen. (G&P, p 94)

Although there is occasional reference to the generic der Bürger (eg TP, p 86), alle (eg G&P, p 148) etc, it is clear from the above that in general the authors of both FRG books present society and the world at large as a collection of groups to which people belong in different ways. At no time are the readers addressed as individuals or even in isolation from each other, but are projected as a coherent group that may or may not be distinct from that to which the authors belong. While this view of society as a collection of homogeneous groups may seem to contradict the basic philosophy in a capitalist-style economy of "every man for himself", it does accord with the Partnerschaft concept current in the contemporary FRG, with its concern for the underprivileged and minority groups which also help to form society.

This contrasts with the typical GDR usage discussed above, where all individuality is subordinated to the collective, and individual wishes and needs are seen in the context of the good of society as a whole. This reflects the need to progress along "der Weg vom Ich zum Wir" (3).

5.2 Questions and tasks

Both sets of texts contain questions and tasks for the readers. In the FRG texts these occur at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of each section; the majority of the exercises in the GDR texts are found at the end of each section (4).

Lipski sees the function of the questions and tasks in school textbooks as follows:

Der Schüler, der mit dem Buch auch allein arbeiten können muß, darf . . . erwarten, daß es ihm Strukturierungshilfen anbietet, sinnerschließende Fragen aufweist, Aufgaben für eine Exzerpterstellung und weitere Arbeitsaufträge in Sinne kognitiver und instrumentaler Lernziele enthält . . . (Lipski (1979:611)) (5)

This is the approach largely followed in the FRG textbooks, where the pupils are required both to reproduce material from the text in order to demonstrate their comprehension of it, and also to produce independent work expressing their own views on various topics. This contrasts with the typical GDR approach: the oral procedure described here by Hartung is, as will be demonstrated, also typical of the written tasks set for the pupils:

Es wird die Behauptung aufgestellt, daß der Bau des Tal-sperrensystems im Harz erst nach der Errichtung der Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Macht in der DDR möglich war. Der Lehrer fordert die Schüler auf, diese Behauptung auf ihre Stichhaltigkeit hin zu überprüfen und nach Argumenten zum Beweis ihrer Richtigkeit zu suchen . . . Zum Schluß werden die Schüler aufgefordert, in einer zusammenfassenden Darstellung die aufgestellte Behauptung mit Hilfe der von ihnen gefundenen Argumente als richtig zu bestätigen. (Hartung (1974:357); see also Eisenhuth (1974); Feige et al (1975:240); Lerner (1975); Wargulew (1977:59); Schwinge (1978:185f)) (6)

These contrasting approaches to the type and functions of questions in the texts, which may be broadly summarised as the analytical and the confirmatory, reflect the differing views of the two German states on political education as discussed above.

In the GDR texts tasks are set either by means of an interrogative or an imperative:

- 18 Was wird in den Abbildungen 1 und 2 dargestellt?
 Vergleiche 1917 mit der Gegenwart!
 Ziehe eine Schlußfolgerung daraus! (7/8)
- 19 Erläutern Sie einige Schwerpunkte zur Steigerung der
 Effektivität in der Volkswirtschaft!

Wie können Sie als zukünftige Facharbeiter in der sozialistischen Produktion zur Steigerung der Arbeitsproduktivität und damit zur Erhöhung der Effektivität beitragen? (10/94) (For a discussion of imperatives see Bochmann (1971:214))

These forms are also common in the FRG texts:

- 20 Überlegt gemeinsam, wie es kommt, daß auch Schüler eurer Klasse Außenseiter sind. (TP, p 41)
- 21 Welche Wirkung haben die Vorurteile der Irokesengeschichte; welche die in den nachstehenden "Volksweisheiten"? - lange Haare - kurzer Verstand! Wer lügt, der stiehlt! . . . (TP, p 32)
- 22 Welche weiteren Randgruppen gibt es noch in unserer Gesellschaft? (G&P, p 68)
- 23 Erkundigt Euch bei den Eltern, einem Finanz- oder Steuerberater oder auf dem Finanzamt, wie hoch gegenwärtig die einzelnen Steuersätze sind! (G&P, p 100)

Several other devices are also employed in the FRG texts, which show a clear difference of approach from that in the GDR texts. Firstly, the authors make suggestions as to what the pupils might do:

- 24 Ihr könnt dies in eurer Klasse durchspielen. Die Bilder 1 bis 3 geben euch hierzu Anregungen. (TP, p 68)
- 25 Vielleicht habt Ihr Gelegenheit, einen Besuch in Bonn zu machen und als Zuhörer an einer solchen Debatte teilzunehmen. Manchmal kann man sich von einem Bundestagsabgeordneten aus dem Wahlkreis, in dem man wohnt, zu einem solchen Besuch einladen lassen. (G&P, p 145)

Recommendations are made as to where to look for information:

- 26 Einige Anschriften, an die Ihr Euch mit der Bitte um Material für Euer "Projekt" wenden könnt, sind: Bundesministerium für Jugend . . .; Deutsche Hauptstelle gegen die Suchtgefahren . . . (G&P, p 222)
- 27 Text 3 . . . zeigt, wie wichtig es im politischen Bereich ist, über Informationsmittel, wie zB den Rundfunk, zu verfügen; siehe dazu auch S. 146f. (TP, p 86)

A discussion of the composition and content of the texts is addressed to the readers:

- 28 Auch an einigen Stellen dieses Buches wird über neuere Gesetze berichtet, zB "Mitbestimmung" (S. 172f) und das "Jugendarbeitsschutzgesetz" (S. 51f). Überlegt, welche Interessenverbände dort jeweils ihren Einfluß geltend gemacht haben könnten und mit welchem Erfolg. (G&P, p 147)
- 29 Unten könnt ihr Stellungnahmen lesen, die sich auf jene drei Gruppen beziehen. Untersucht die Vorschläge: Welche Gruppe hält die bestehenden Regelungen für ausreichend, wer möchte etwas ändern? (TP, p 94)

Interpretations and warnings are given to the readers about a text:

- 30 (After a table of statistics on job-preferences of school-leavers) Statistiken muß man auch immer kritisch lesen. Überlegt: Warum kann dort, wo ihr zuhause seid, die Situation für manche Berufe anders sein? (TP, p 78)
- 31 . . . Wenn wir aber davon ausgehen, daß Randgruppen ein Teil unserer Gesellschaft sind, dann müssen wir vor allem danach fragen, welche Umstände ihr Entstehen begünstigen. (G&P, p 64)

These various devices show a more open approach by the authors to the readers: they give fewer orders, and suggest in an almost conversational way that the pupils do things, which gives the impression of a choice for the pupils. The relationship between authors and readers seems to be one of near-equals holding a conversation, rather than the somewhat catechistic approach adopted in the GDR texts. This contrasts with what was suggested above regarding the apparent inclusion of the readers of the GDR texts in the ruling group and the (temporary) exclusion of the FRG readers. Whilst these situations may obtain, the attitude of the adults to the young people is very different: the GDR pupils seem to be placed in a subordinate position where they remain until they prove themselves as full members of society (graduation from school), whilst in the case of the FRG adults' expectations of what the pupils should achieve are less explicit. Pupils appear in many cases to have a choice as to whether they perform the tasks or not, just as in adult life they will have the choice between participation and non-participation in politics. These options do not exist in the GDR, and the expectation that all will participate is reflected in the form in which the exercises are set. Whilst the GDR tasks are largely in the form of imperatives or WH-questions, the FRG texts contain such polite (and even flattering) structures as the following:

- 32 Stellt bitte an Hand der Graphiken die konjunkturellen Auf- und Abschwünge fest . . . (G&P, p 160)
- 33 Wenn Ihr aufmerksam die Materialien 1-6 studiert habt, könnt Ihr auf folgende Fragen leicht eine Antwort finden . . . (G&P, p 283)

Corresponding to the different perspectives of the two states on socialisation, the exercises given to the pupils reflect a different attitude to the texts and the differing positions of these texts in the teaching situation. In both cases the exercises begin by referring

to the preceding extract of text, and then encourage the readers to extrapolate from this to their personal situation and to society and the world in general. This is a feature of their nature as pedagogic texts. However, the GDR texts were found to compose what we are calling a "closed universe" to a much greater degree than did the FRG texts. This can be illustrated most clearly on the basis of the type of task set, the presuppositions contained in the question and the degree to which key terms and concepts are problematised and call for independent thought on the part of the pupils. We discuss here examples of typical questions and tasks from the two sets of texts.

5.2.1 The GDR texts

After a section in book 7 on Die sozialistische Industrie der DDR heute the GDR pupils are asked to compare two pictures of the Leipzig fair, one taken in 1947 and the other in 1973, and the question asked is Was stellst du fest? An answer to this is provided in the captions given to the pictures which focus attention on the types of tools available:

- 34 Leipziger Messe 1947. Hier betrachten die Besucher einen Stand mit Handwerkszeug. Ein zeitgemäßes Werkzeug für den schweren Anfang des wirtschaftlichen Neuaufbaus war der Ziegelputzhammer.
 Moderner Spinnautomat der DDR, ausgestellt auf der Leipziger Messe 1973. Großrundstrickmaschinen gehören zu den herausragenden Exponaten des Textilmaschinenbaus der DDR. (7/45)

The next task in this section reads:

- 35 Zeige, wie sich die DDR zu einem modernen Industriestaat entwickelte! (7/45)

The following is a sample of the information available in the text, which requires no amendment to provide an adequate answer:

- 36 Für die Schaffung einer leistungsstarken Industrie in der DDR war der erste Fünfjahrplan zur Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft . . . sehr bedeutsam . . . Die zentrale Aufgabe dieses Fünfjahrplanes war der Aufbau von Eisenhüttenwerken, Stahlwerken und Betrieben des Schwermaschinenbaus, das heißt, einer metallurgischen Basis für unsere Industrie als Voraussetzung für eine leistungsfähige Leicht- und Lebensmittelindustrie . . . Um das Eisenhüttenkombinat und die dazugehörige Stadt, Eisenhüttenstadt, aufbauen zu können, mußten zunächst 3 Mill. Quadratmeter Wald gerodet . . . werden . . . (7/42-4)

A text from book 9 that can be answered by "lifting" information almost verbatim from the text is found on p 58-9, and deals with the formation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The first question set on this passage reads:

- 37 Legen Sie dar, wodurch sich die Diktatur der Bourgeoisie grundsätzlich von der Diktatur des Proletariats unterscheidet.

It is an easy matter for the pupils to answer this question on the basis of the following material found in the preceding text:

- 38 Für die Angehörigen der herrschenden Klasse, zB der Bourgeoisie, ist die Diktatur zumeist demokratisch. Diktatur und Demokratie sind zwei Seiten der Klassenherrschaft. Diktatur, Unterdrückung der zu beherrschenden Klasse und Demokratie für die herrschende Klasse. Was bedeutet das, wenn wir von Diktatur des Proletariats sprechen? Hier geht es um die Diktatur der Übergroßen Mehrheit . . . gegenüber einer kleinen Minderheit, der Monopolbourgeoisie . . . (9/58)

The second question on this section reads:

- 39 Begründen Sie, warum die Diktatur des Proletariats die Hauptfrage der sozialistischen Revolution ist!

This in turn can be answered on the basis of the following extracts:

- 40 Mit Hilfe der Diktatur des Proletariats wird der Aufbau des Sozialismus organisiert. "Die Diktatur des Proletariats ist der aufopferungsvollste und schonungsloseste Krieg der neuen Klasse gegen einen mächtigeren Feind, gegen die Bourgeoisie, deren Widerstand sich durch ihren Sturz . . . verzehnfacht und deren Macht nicht nur in der Stärke des internationalen Kapitals . . . besteht, sondern auch in der Macht der Gewohnheit . . . Aus allen diesen Gründen ist die Diktatur des Proletariats notwendig . . ." (9/58-9, quoting Lenin)

The type of question discussed above, where the pupils are easily able to find the answers in the text and to repeat and adopt the evaluations contained in the text as their own opinions, contrasts with those such as the following, where they must consult other texts:

- 41 Wann fand die letzte Tagung des ZK der SED statt? Welche Probleme standen im Mittelpunkt der Beratung? (8/23)

In cases such as this the pupils are being asked to undertake independent research and utilise sources of information other than the textbook used in class. However, whilst this will help develop the ability of the pupils to work alone, the information which each pupil obtains is likely to be extremely similar, if not identical, and so the independent work does not function as a catalyst for discussion as a result of contrasting information found. Meetings of the Central Committee are regarded in a positive light as an instance of the democratic

system of the GDR in action; there is no likelihood that any of the sources the pupils might consult to answer this question would cast any doubt on this. Similarly, any discussion of the issues raised will follow the same lines and draw the same conclusions in accordance with Party guidelines. On a purely factual issue like this, that may seem insignificant, but the same "conspiracy of texts" is found in conjunction with other issues that may be regarded as controversial and to which there is no obvious and clear-cut attitude to be adopted, as in the following examples:

- 42 Sammle aus der Presse Beispiele, wie die Ausschüsse der Volkskammer die Verwirklichung der Gesetze und Beschlüsse gewährleisten und wie sie dabei die Initiative der Werktätigen fördern! (8/70)
- 43 In den imperialistischen Hauptländern verstärkt sich die Tendenz zur Anwendung autoritärer Herrschaftsmethoden, das heißt Maßnahmen zur ständigen Beschränkung der verfassungsmäßig garantierten demokratischen Grundrechte der Werktätigen. Beispiele dafür sind: die blutige Niederschlagung der demokratischen Volksbewegung in Frankreich im Mai 1968, die Anwendung offener faschistischer Gewalt gegen die rechtmäßig gewählte Regierung Chiles . . . Ergänzen Sie diese Beispiele aus aktuellen Pressemeldungen! (9/74)

The reports that the pupils find will not contain any positive evaluations of capitalist states, and will simply make a further contribution to the "closed universe".

5.2.2 The FRG texts

The situation in the FRG texts is very different; whilst not all points of view on an issue are regarded as positive, the principle that people should have a right to negative opinions is upheld and reflected in the texts and the tasks set. In the case of the following questions the pupils are expected to work outwards from the text itself where answers are provided for the first part of the question, to think independently and possibly do some research:

- 44 Welche Gründe werden in M1-M4 für die Jugendarbeitslosigkeit genannt? Stellt bitte eine Liste zusammen und vergleicht mit den Informationen und Materialien des vorangegangenen Abschnittes über "Die Rolle als Lehrling". Könnt Ihr weitere "Gründe" selbst nennen? (G&P, p 55)

The search for such "Gründe" might include reading texts from both left and right in the political spectrum, both of which extremes would contain opinions different from those quoted in the text book itself, namely Der Spiegel, Die Zeit, the Deutscher Industrie- und Handelstag

and a book entitled Was soll man machen? (7). Whilst it is not likely that every pupil will have access to extremist or unconventional material on this or any other topic, it is in principle possible, and acceptable, that such views should be voiced. The universe is less closed than is the case with the GDR texts. The following examples illustrate the same principle:

- 45 Die Zahl der Arbeiter, die das Unternehmen in der Bundesrepublik beschäftigt, ging in den letzten Jahren stark zurück. Was für das einzelne Unternehmen Erfolg brachte, kann jedoch für die gesamte Volkswirtschaft und für die Arbeitnehmer von Nachteil sein. Welche Nachteile könnt ihr im Anschluß an den Bericht nennen? (TP, p 74)
- 46 Wozu benötigten die europäischen Länder Sklaven, wohin wurden sie gebracht?
Welche Gründe waren für die Aufgabe der Sklaverei maßgebend?
Schon die Wirtschaft im Altertum beruhte auf der Sklaverei. Informiert Euch darüber in Eurem Geschichtsbuch.
(G&P, p 150-1)

Sources other than the school history book may well contain different views as to the reasons for abolishing slavery, the degree to which abolition was successful and the speed at which it took effect, the benefits or otherwise experienced by the freed slaves etc. Moreover, since not all school history-books are the same, the answer cannot be predicted in any reliable way.

Sometimes the answers to a question are easily recoverable from the text, as in the examples below:

- 47 Wenn Ihr die Materialien miteinander vergleicht: wozu fordern sie uns auf? Was ist ihnen gemeinsam, worin unterscheiden sie sich? (G&P, p 37)
- 48 Stellt die Argumente für und gegen eine Gewinnbeteiligung zusammen.
Auf welche Gefahren bzw. Nachteile wird von Seite der Unternehmer hingewiesen einerseits für die Arbeitnehmer, andererseits für die Unternehmer selbst? (G&P, p 170)
- 49 Die oben abgedruckten Tabellen geben Informationen über Berufsausbildungschancen in häufig gewählten Berufen. Ihr könnt (in Gruppenarbeit) herausfinden:
- Welche Berufe werden am häufigsten gewünscht?
 - In welchen Berufen reichen die angebotenen Lehrstellen nicht aus?
 - In welchen Berufen gibt es mehr Ausbildungsstellen als gewünscht?
 - Welche Berufe sind typische Jungen- oder Mädchenberufe?
- Wo werden den Mädchen zu wenig Ausbildungschancen geboten?
(TP, p 78)

Such questions are relatively rare, however, and it is virtually

never the case that whole extracts can be "lifted" from the text to provide the answer. If there are evaluations or personal opinions in the material it is usually made clear in the phrasing of the question that these are not necessarily generally valid or acceptable and that the reader is not expected to adopt them as his own view:

- 50 In einem Leserbrief, der oben abgedrückt ist, beklagt sich ein Journalist über die Entwicklung im Pressewesen. Wer hat seiner Meinung nach die Möglichkeit, das Recht auf Pressefreiheit zu beanspruchen und zu gebrauchen? (TP, p 92)

Occasionally there are evaluations and presuppositions in the question which are not problematised, but presented as the basis on which an answer is to be given:

- 51 Aus den Bildern und dem abgedruckten Flugblatt . . . könnt ihr noch weitere Tricks erfahren, durch die Kunden zum Kauf angereizt und dadurch die Gewinne der Händler erhöht werden . . . Erkundet in Gruppen eure Warenhäuser. Fertigt dazu mit Hilfe dieser und der nächsten Seite eine Liste der möglichen Tricks an. Achtet auf Verstöße gegen gesetzliche Vorschriften, zB Preisauszeichnung, Herstelldatum, Gewichtsangaben . . . (TP, p 58)

Here there is clear negative evaluation in Tricks and presupposition in Verstöße gegen gesetzliche Vorschriften which are not open to question. Similarly, gereizt suggests disapproval of the process described, and the contrast between the Kauf of the customer and the Gewinne of the tradesmen makes it seem underhand and on the verge of illegality. Whilst this may be the opinion of the authors, it would not necessarily have been the opinion of the readers if they had not read the above sentences. It is one of the declared aims of the FRG education system to make people aware of and thus resistant to propaganda, but the value-judgements contained in the above sentences seem to go beyond what is necessary to make people aware of advertising language and actually to prescribe their reaction to it. Similarly, in the following example there is the presupposition that outsiders are unhappy, and non-conformity is seen as having a negative effect on the individual, which is remarkable in view of the rights of the individual to "die freie Entfaltung seiner Persönlichkeit" (Grundgesetz, Art 2.1).

- 52 Stellt in einem Klassengespräch zusammen: Welche besonderen Schwierigkeiten haben Außenseiter im Unterricht - in der Pause - beim Sport - bei Prüfungen - in der Freizeit - zu Hause? (TP, p 41)

In the following examples the reader has to accept the first part of the question before being able to give an answer:

- 53 Vermögen und hohe Einkommen verleihen Macht: könnt Ihr Beispiele nennen? Welche Probleme und Gefahren ergeben sich daraus? (G&P, p 165)
- 54 Die europäische Einigung hat auch etwas mit dem Gastarbeiterproblem zu tun: lest in unserem Buch die einschlägigen Kapitel nach und diskutiert über Fragen wie: Freizügigkeit für alle Europäer, ja oder nein? . . . (G&P, p 130)

In these examples the reader is not invited to ask whether the presuppositions are accurate; moreover, the value-judgement contained in Probleme and Gefahren in the first example above are likely to influence the tone of the answer even further.

5.2.3 Presuppositions contained in the questions

In the questions and tasks in the GDR texts presuppositions and evaluations are the norm: (see Nitzschke (1966:207f, 250f); Preuß-Lausitz (1973a:85f) on research done in the USA; Taylor (1976:132f); Schmitt (1978:39, 41); Lipski (1979:611, 615, 618). We discuss presuppositions found in the body of the texts in the section on Testability below):

- 55 Was befähigt Erich Honecker, die verantwortungsvolle Funktion des Ersten Sekretärs des ZK der SED auszuüben? Welche Antworten findest du auf diese Frage in seiner Biographie? (8/22-3)
- 56 Inwiefern wirkt der Klassenkampf in der Geschichte der Klassengesellschaft als Triebkraft der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung? (10/158)

Although these questions refer outside the immediate text, the information discovered elsewhere will, as stated above, contribute to and reinforce that view of the world that is contained in the school texts. Another obvious feature of the questions quoted above, and which we have already mentioned briefly, is the impossibility of refuting the presuppositions and evaluations in the question and the essentially affirmative nature of the answer expected. Further examples include the following:

- 57 Weise nach, daß die Arbeiterklasse an der Spitze des sozialistischen Wettbewerbs steht! (7/50)
- 58 Warum war die Gründung der DDR ein Wendepunkt im Leben unseres Volkes und für ganz Europa? (7/35)

59 Leite aus der Politik der Anpassung des Imperialismus die Notwendigkeit der Verteidigungsbereitschaft des Sozialismus ab. (7/88)

60 Kennzeichnen Sie die menschenfeindlichen Maßnahmen, mit denen die Bourgeoisie versucht, den Widerspruch zwischen Produktion und Markt zeitweilig zu überwinden! (9/42)

The questions quoted above contain, at the very least, the germ of their own answer in the way they are phrased: they all show the tone and some of the content of what is required in the answer. Questions which ask the pupils to explain some aspect of what they have read never question the truth, validity or positive nature of the judgement already expressed in the question. Similarly, questions with warum do not question whether what they are discussing is accurate, simply why it is accurate.

All the above features of the questions, which virtually give the pupils half the answer before they start to think, are a consequence of the operative nature of the GDR texts. The texts are designed to convince the readers that the authors have found the correct solution by involving the emotions of the readers rather than their critical faculties (see Parts I and II). Clearly the children are expected to think and pay attention in their lessons, and not simply to sit passively; some of the questions quoted above do in fact give the impression of asking for independent critical thought. We have seen, however, that this appearance is misleading, and that the basic premises and presuppositions on which the questions and the texts themselves rest are never called into question.

The GDR questions quoted above are essentially WH-questions, in that they can be rephrased to read Was ist . . . etc. WH-questions in the FRG texts show a very different approach, in that they require the reader to go beyond the text in order to answer them fully; sometimes in order to provide purely factual information, and sometimes to give a personal opinion formed on the basis of information discovered (8):

61 Welche Sparformen stehen für den Sparer zur Auswahl?
Erkundigt Euch darüber bei den Banken und Sparkassen.
(G&P, p 167)

62 Andere Fragen, die man erkunden kann: wieviele Frauen sitzen in unseren Parlamenten? Wieviele Arbeiter sind Abgeordnete des Bundestags, des Landtags? (G&P, p 95)

63 Unsere Weltkarte zeigt einige Staaten, in denen es in den Jahren 1973 bis 1976 zu Unruhen, Krisen und Gewalttaten

kam. Die folgenden Texte beschreiben vier Beispiele gewaltsamer Konflikte . . . Welche Ursachen könnt Ihr ermitteln? Was müßte man darüber hinaus noch erfahren, um genaueres über die Ursachen aussagen zu können? (TP, p 99)

Other questions challenge commonly-held beliefs and opinions, rather than taking them for granted as the basis of an answer to a question:

- 64 Läßt sich nachweisen, daß bestimmte Bevölkerungsgruppen (Randgruppen) "einen höheren Anteil an Strafgefangenen stellen?" Denkt an 'Schichten', 'Klassen', 'Einkommen' ua! (G&P, p 65)

Here the readers are asked to state whether something is possible, not to confirm that it is possible. They are given some guidance as to how to answer the question which, since it is in the form of Stichwörter rather than complete sentences is not detailed enough to provide a blue-print for a detailed reply. It may well have some influence on the answers given, but only in as far as the pupils are made to discuss what the authors want them to discuss rather than any other topic; the opinions that they express are not prescribed.

It is fairly common in the FRG texts for help to be given to the pupils as to how to approach the various tasks; this is normally not enough, however, for the pupils to be able to give an answer without going back to the texts and thinking about them. It is clear that in a book of this kind there will be a close connection between the text and the exercises - that is part of their function as educational texts. It is not the case, however, that the questions simply demand verbatim repetition of sections of text, or simple confirmation of what the question states (9):

- 65 Erörtert: welche Folgen kann es haben, wenn einer Mehrheit im Bundestag - wie derzeit von SPD und FDP - eine andere - wie gegenwärtig von Vertretern der CDU- und CSU-regierten Länder - im Bundesrat entgegensteht. Hinweise hierzu findet Ihr in diesem Buch zB auf S. 53f. (G&P, p 94)

The pages referred to contain information about youth unemployment, and the policies of the various parties as to how to solve the problem. There is no direct reference to majorities in either House - the pupils have to extrapolate an answer to the above question from a variety of extracts extending over eight pages. The situation is similar with the following tasks;

- 66 Die zweite Frage, mit der Ihr Euch - zB durch regelmäßige Zeitungslektüre, durch Anhören und Ansehen kritischer Sendungen im Rundfunk und Fernsehen usw. - beschäftigen solltet . . . (G&P, p 229)

- 67 Ihr könnt diese Probleme mit Hilfe der Bilder selber nennen und beschreiben. Dabei empfiehlt es sich, planmäßig vorzugehen, indem ihr fragt:
- Was zeigen die einzelnen Bilder? Welche Personen, Situationen, Vorgänge, Gegenstände . . .?
 - Welche Bilder gehören zusammen?
 - Was sagen sie zusammen aus? Oder: Wie könnte man die Probleme beschreiben, die mit diesen Bildern dargestellt werden? (TP, p 98)

Help is also given to the GDR pupils in answering their questions, but again the emotive-evaluative component in the phrasing of the questions is much greater and the guidelines as to how to answer them are more binding:

- 68 Charakterisieren Sie zusammenfassend den Imperialismus als höchstes Stadium des Kapitalismus! Weisen Sie dabei die Gültigkeit der Lehre Lenins vom Imperialismus als faulenden und sterbenden Kapitalismus, als Vorabend der proletarischen Revolution in unserer Epoche nach! (9/77)
- 69 Kennzeichne den Weg vom Ich zum Wir in der sozialistischen Landwirtschaft der DDR! Gehe dabei besonders auf die Unterstützung der Bauern durch die Arbeiterklasse und ihre Partei ein und zeige, welche komplizierten Fragen auf diesem Wege zu lösen waren! (7/57)
- 70 Leiten Sie aus der Tabelle I/I den Nachweis ab, daß die Kaufkraft des Geldes in den erfaßten Ländern (USA, Japan, BRD, Frankreich, Großbritannien, Italien) rapide gesunken ist! (10/22)

Both sets of texts encourage the pupils to discuss various topics, either singly or in groups. Whilst the FRG texts offer some guidance as to what to take into account in these discussions, the conclusions to be drawn are not prescribed in advance:

- 71 Nachdem Ihr die Materialien durchgearbeitet habt, könnt Ihr in Gruppen und in der Klasse diskutieren: Was sollte Entwicklungshilfe bewirken? Woran sollte dabei gedacht werden? Oder: ist es überhaupt sinnvoll, Entwicklungshilfe zu leisten? (G&P, p 296)
- 72 Unsere Materialien sind eine bescheidene kleine Auswahl: in allen steckt je ein Problem. Nun käme es für Euch darauf an, dieses Problem jeweils zu erkennen, sich mit ihm gründlicher vertraut zu machen und darüber zu diskutieren, zB: sollte die Bundeswehr Berufsförderungsmaßnahmen aus Steuermitteln aller so sehr in den Vordergrund stellen? (G&P, p 80)

The GDR texts invite discussion in the following ways:

- 73 Setzen Sie sich mit den Bezeichnungen "Arbeitgeber" und "Arbeitnehmer" auseinander! Warum sind sie falsch? Was

soll mit solchen Begriffen verschleiert werden? (9/26)

- 74 Setzen Sie sich mit der Auffassung auseinander, daß der bürgerliche Staat ein "Rechtsstaat" für alle Bürger sei! Beziehen Sie in Ihre Argumentation aktuelle Beispiele ein, die beweisen, daß diese These eine Lüge ist und das Klassenwesen des kapitalistischen Staates verschleiern soll! (9/34)

- 75 Widerlegen Sie die These bürgerlicher Ideologen, daß unter den Bedingungen der wissenschaftlich-technischen Revolution die Intelligenz zur Führung der Gesellschaft berufen sei! Wenden Sie dabei auch Ihr Wissen über die führende Rolle der Arbeiterklasse an! (10/131)

It is clear what kind of answers and opinions are expected here. Very little criticism of the socialist system is invited, and when there is mention of faults in the system these are presented to the pupils as purely temporary; their responses to the tasks set are clearly to be developed with this in mind:

- 76 Warum ist die Frau trotz bestehender Gleichberechtigung in unserer Gesellschaft vielfach noch stärker belastet als der Mann? Überlege, wie das verändert werden kann! (7/65)

- 77 Wie erklärst du dir, daß wir noch nicht alle sozialen Bedürfnisse befriedigen können? (7/69)

- 78 Manche Menschen empfinden gesellschaftliche Arbeit als Ballast. Setze dich mit dieser Meinung auseinander. (8/87)

In the above example there is no overt instruction as to the attitude to be taken in the discussion; the phrasing of the task admits that there are people with a negative attitude, but the use of the negative term Ballast in connection with them is likely to indicate to the pupils that these attitudes cannot be approved of. Moreover, the short extract of text immediately preceding this set of questions provides all the answers the children will need: having just read a passage on the social value of work, they are likely to react negatively to the suggestion that it is bad, or at least to regard this view as a deviation from what has been presented as the norm. Part of the preceding passage runs as follows:

. . . Im Sozialismus stimmen die Pflichten mit den Rechten des werktätigen Volkes überein. Die Pflichten sind also keinesfalls eine Last, eine drückende Bürde, wie manchmal behauptet wird. Einen persönlichen Beitrag zur allseitigen Stärkung unserer DDR zu leisten, selbst an der sozialistischen Demokratie teilzunehmen - das gehört zu einer sozialistischen Persönlichkeit. (8/87)

Occasionally no guidance at all is given as to how the question is to be answered, but these cases form a very small minority:

- 79 Werten Sie die Ergebnisse der Politik der Partei der Arbeiterklasse und des sozialistischen Staates zur Verbesserung der Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen der Werktätigen in Stadt und Land! (10/82)

Here no clue is given in the question as to the required shape of the answer, but again this question follows a passage on this very topic, and the first sentence of this section can be used as a summary answer to the question:

- 80 In harter, angestrenzter Arbeit haben wir in der DDR ein beachtliches Niveau der Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen erreicht. (10/80)

The passage admits that everything that has to be done has not yet been done and that the situation is not yet ideal, but states that the GDR has made excellent progress. Moreover:

- 81 Von 1976 bis 1980 soll das umfassendste sozialpolitische Programm erfüllt werden, die es jemals in der DDR gab. (10/82)

5.2.4 Specialist terminology

Clearly an important function of pedagogic texts is the introduction to the reader of specialist terminology from the field under discussion. Traditional ML terminology is common throughout the GDR texts and the pupils are frequently called upon to explain it; this usually involves reference back to the previous few pages of text, where the answers are to be found. The first question quoted below can be answered by reference to the preceding six pages, the second by reference to the previous four pages, and the third by reference to the previous two pages:

- 82 Erläutere folgende Begriffe:
a) Intensivierung in der Landwirtschaft
b) Industriemäßige Produktionsmethoden in der Landwirtschaft
c) Kooperation in der Landwirtschaft! (7/64)
- 83 Erläutern Sie den Begriff sozialistische Produktionsweise! (10/68)
- 84 Was verstehen wir unter dem wissenschaftlich-technischen Fortschritt und unter der wissenschaftlich-technischen Revolution? (10/97)

The task of the pupils is simply to summarise what has been presented, possibly in their own words but more probably in a suitably parteilich way. As we have discussed above, it is of concern to educationists in the GDR that pupils should not only understand and remember infor-

mation, but be able to reproduce it in an ideologically acceptable style.

In the FRG texts there is relatively little specialised vocabulary to be learned; unlike in the GDR texts, where a great deal of time is devoted to explaining ML terms, in the FRG books this kind of term is kept to a minimum, as in the following examples:

- 85 Informiert euch zuerst auf S. 124 unter dem Stichwort Produktionsfaktoren. (TP, p 69)
- 86 Klärt zunächst die beiden Begriffe "arbeitsintensiv" und "arbeitssparend". (TP, p 64)
- 87 Lest noch einmal auf S. 64 die Definition für das Wort "Randgruppen" nach und versucht Euch zu erklären, warum wir 4 Seiten lang über Strafgefangene Materialien und Informationen zusammengestellt haben! (G&P, p 68)

Whilst specialist terms are used where appropriate, such as Das magische Viereck (G&P, p 156), discussion of their meaning is kept to a minimum within the text; as in examples 85 and 86, it is largely left to the readers themselves to discover the meaning of new words. Both books have a glossary of terms at the end: Gesellschaft und Politik has eleven sides of Wörterklärungen, and Thema Politik has six sides containing 38 items as Begriffserklärungen, which give more details on each term. The pupils are expected to clarify what the text means and then go on to perform the various tasks connected with it. Simply explaining terminology is not in itself regarded as a task (10).

5.2.5 Recapitulation

Fairly frequently the readers are asked to recapitulate in their own words what has been said in the text; this is simply a device to ensure that they have understood what is being said. Whilst the questions sometimes offer an interpretation of the information given, this is normally the generally accepted view rather than an emotively coloured personal opinion of the author. It is nonetheless the case that the pupils are offered an ideologically influenced view of events.

- 88 Welche Gründe werden im Bericht über die ungleiche Entwicklung des Umsatzes in den einzelnen Gebieten genannt? Wie hat sich der Umsatz je Kopf der Beschäftigten entwickelt?

Was sagen diese Zahlen über den wirtschaftlichen Erfolg des Unternehmens aus? (TP, p 74)

- 89 (Occurs immediately after extract from Grundgesetz):
Wozu sollen, ja müssen Eltern gemäß unserem Grundgesetz ihre Kinder erziehen? Versucht bitte, die hier herangezogenen Verfassungs-Artikel in Eure Sprache zu "übersetzen" und Beispiele aus dem Familienalltag zu finden. (G&P, p 210)

Another common task, similar to the recapitulation mentioned above, is to recount the opinions of a particular group about a topic, or to compare the opinions of two opposing groups; the pupils are often asked for their own opinions after the main discussion is over:

- 90 Wie die Parteien ihre bildungspolitischen Vorstellungen und Ziele begründen, könnt ihr den Texten auf diesen beiden Seiten entnehmen. Stellt die unterschiedlichen Argumente gegenüber und diskutiert sie . . . (TP, p 47)
- 91 Man sagt: Streiks schaden der Wirtschaft, denn sie bedeuten Produktionsausfall und folglich Absinken des Lebensstandards für alle. Was meint Ihr dazu? Man kann aber auch so argumentieren: die durch Streiks oder Streikdrohungen erreichten Lohn- und Gehaltsverbesserungen stärken die Kaufkraft vieler, so daß die Produktion angekurbelt wird. Was meint Ihr zu dieser Auffassung? (G&P, p 34)

Requests for personal opinions are common elsewhere:

- 92 Ist es sinnvoll, sämtliche Daten über euch zu speichern? Wenn nicht, welche wollt ihr auf keinen Fall festgehalten wissen? (TP, p 85)
- 93 Wie beurteilt Ihr die Chancen der Gewerkschaften, mit Hilfe der aktiven Lohnpolitik zu einer Umverteilung der Vermögen zu gelangen? (TP, p 87)

Whilst the recapitulation of other people's opinions is clearly going to be based on the texts given, and whilst there is some guidance as to what to take into account when answering the question, there is little other prescription involved in these tasks. If an opinion is given, the pupils are asked not simply to expand on it, but to explain and justify it; the evaluative element in the reply is not contained in the question.

As in some of the examples quoted earlier, references are sometimes found in the GDR books to sources other than the immediate text:

- 94 Wiederhole: was ist sozialistische Demokratie? Verwende dazu auch den Begriffsanhang, Stichwort "Demokratie"! (8/84)
- 95 Was wissen Sie aus dem Geschichtsunterricht über die Herausbildung von Monopolen? Welche bedeutenden Monopole entstanden um die Jahrhundertwende? (9/63)

Again there is a clear contrast between the evaluative nature of the GDR texts and the more "open" approach in the FRG texts.

5.2.6 Personal opinions

As mentioned above, the FRG texts frequently ask the pupils for their opinions on a topic; whilst some material is usually provided that could be used towards an answer, this material is never presented only from one point of view, but contains a variety of opinions, any or none of which the pupils are invited to agree with:

- 96 Die Materialien 1-4 sind sehr unterschiedlich: die einen wollen mehr "Beteiligung" des Volkes, die anderen halten diese für schlicht unmöglich - was meint Ihr dazu? (G&P, p 113)
- 97 Ein Junge (14 Jahre) meint: "Eine Frau sollte keine Entscheidungen allein treffen, immer erst mit dem Mann darüber reden". Vergleicht diese Meinung mit den Berufswünschen der Schülerinnen an Real- und Hauptschulen. Was haltet ihr davon? (TP, p 40)

Similarly:

- 98 Fällt Euch eine Antwort auf die Frage ein, warum Ihr Euch oft genauso verhaltet, wie bestimmte Gesetze es vorschreiben, ohne daß Ihr aber diese Gesetze und Vorschriften kennt? (G&P, p 136)

The above question takes certain things for granted, but it does not say why they are so or prescribe an answer. While there has been mention in the text of children going to school because of the Schulpflichtgesetze, and buying sweets and comics in a Kaufvertrag as codified in the BGB, nothing that could serve as a direct answer to the above question has been provided.

The GDR texts contain 18 requests for a personal opinion. Of these, 15 can be answered simply by building up an answer on key expressions provided in the text:

- 99 Verschaffen Sie sich Klarheit über Ihre eigene Vorstellung von Freundschaft und Kameradschaft! (10/75)

Key expressions which could be taken from the text in answer to this include gemeinsames Ringen um die Lösung von Problemen, gegenseitige Anteilnahme, auf Kosten anderer leben, sozialistische Beziehungen kameradschaftlicher Zusammenarbeit und gegenseitiger Hilfe, Kollektiv, kritisches Verhalten, Mut.

100 Überlege, welche Bedeutung die enge Zusammenarbeit mit der UdSSR für die Entwicklung der Industrie der DDR hat! (7/47)

Key words include reiche Erfahrungen, umfangreiche materielle Hilfe, Unterstützung, Lieferung, gesicherter Absatz, plus a list of personnel and material aid and of common projects.

Sometimes it is not possible to discover a verbatim answer in the text, but by responding to the clearly evaluative nature of the text it is possible to provide an appropriate reply:

101 Nimm zu diesen Äußerungen Stellung! (8/90)

This follows an extract on the effect of monopolies on the lives of workers in capitalist states.

102 Äußern Sie Ihre Gedanken zu dieser Karikatur! Welche Widersprüche werden deutlich? (9/42)

The caricature shows a boat sinking and about to drown a worker, whilst a capitalist keeps himself out of the water and says: "Die Krise spielt uns übel mit, lieber Freund - aber sie (sic) sehen, ich bin immer obenauf!"

Only three of the requests in the GDR texts for a personal opinion do not have at least the germ of an answer contained in the surrounding text:

103 Überlege, warum die Bodenreform in den westlichen Besatzungszonen Deutschlands nicht durchgeführt worden ist! (7/28)

104 Welche der genannten Proportionen (in a preceding table) sind Ihrer Meinung nach am wichtigsten? Begründen Sie Ihre Antwort! (10/82)

105 Erkundigen Sie sich in Ihrem Patenbetrieb um den Stand der Planerfüllung!
a) Welche Probleme werden sichtbar?
b) Welche Initiativen gibt es im sozialistischen Wettbewerb zur Planerfüllung?
Werten Sie die Ergebnisse Ihrer Untersuchung! (10/106)

The second two examples above contain certain presuppositions: that the proportions are important, while not necessarily all equally so; that there are initiatives being carried out in the factory - and that there are problems. This is a rare admission that everything is not perfect all the time, but the fact that ways are being found to fulfil the Plan shows that the problems are purely temporary.

The lack of requests for personal opinions in these texts compared to

the large number of such requests in the FRG books is again a result of the nature of the GDR schoolbooks and their role in the learning process. The material contained in them is the truth as perceived by the ML Party, and the task of the pupils is to acquire this way of perception for themselves, rather than indulge in subjective self-analysis. Where personal feelings are asked for, these are seen in intimate connection with the position of the individual as a Staatsbürger and his civic duties, as in the following examples:

- 106 Welche Schlußfolgerungen ziehst du aus diesem Fahneneid (der NVA) für das Lernen in der Schule und für dein späteres Leben? (8/105)
- 107 Welche persönlichen Schlußfolgerungen ziehen Sie aus der Notwendigkeit, das sozialistische Vaterland zu schützen und zu verteidigen? (10/144)

Whilst there is no explicit answer to these questions in the text, it is clear what kind of reply is required: the penultimate sentence of the text preceding example 107 reads:

- 108 (Die Verteidigungsbereitschaft der DDR) erfordert . . . , das Wissen und die Überzeugung von der Notwendigkeit der Verteidigung des Sozialismus unter allen Bürgern und ganz besonders unter der Jugend zu vertiefen, den Stolz auf die Errungenschaften des Sozialismus zu stärken und den Haß gegen den Imperialismus auszuprägen. (10/144)

5.3 Conclusion

It emerges from the discussion in this section that there are fundamental differences in the types of questions and tasks set in the school textbooks of the two German states, which reflect on a linguistic level the differing ideological bases of the two states in general, and of their education systems in particular. In the FRG texts the emphasis is on a plurality of views, the opportunity to criticise material presented, and the formation of individuals' opinions; in the GDR texts, in contrast, the approach is more catechistic, with pupils being regarded rather as a collective than as individuals, and being encouraged and expected to accept what is perceived by those in power as correct, and not to spend time forming personal views which, it is believed, will ultimately prove to be erroneous. These differences are seen in the forms of address employed in the texts, and also in the questions and tasks themselves; there are radical differences between the two sets of texts in the use of

evaluative and emotive terminology, in the number and type of pre-suppositions contained in the questions, and in the degree to which the questions can be satisfactorily answered by reproducing part of the immediately preceding text.

Whilst there is some small room for individual manoeuvre within the closed universe of the GDR texts, this is not sufficient to enable the individual to develop an independent point of view. The majority of the questions asked and tasks set in the GDR books call upon the pupils only to exercise their minds within predetermined frameworks. Whilst they are occasionally given independent tasks to carry out, or are asked to relate what they have read to their own situation and their personal feelings, the phrasing of the questions renders it unlikely that this could encourage them to think beyond what they have been taught, or to question any of it. It emerges from the investigation above that the vast majority of the questions asked and tasks set are evaluatively and emotively "loaded" in some way; even where this is not immediately obvious from the phrasing of the question itself, the texts that provide the information necessary to answer the question frequently contain explicit value-judgements. It is likely that the pupils will use this information in their answers largely as it stands. The providing of ready-made answers and opinions, and the lack of encouragement to criticise texts at this stage in the pupils' development may well lead to uncritical acceptance of other texts later in life. The pupils are introduced to operative texts at an early age, and are thus likely to accept them as normal and unremarkable.

The whole approach of the questions and tasks in the FRG texts shows fundamental differences from the GDR situation: the topics dealt with are different, in that they are more sociologically/personally oriented than strictly political; there is less emphasis on terminological accuracy and more on interpreting data in one's own words. The scope of the tasks is different: rather than expecting the pupils simply to understand and internalise what has been said, supplementary tasks and questions are given which go beyond the schoolbook.

This provides an opportunity for individual research, and countenances the possibility that the pupils will encounter views that contrast with or are opposed to mainstream opinion. This is not simply accepted,

but welcomed as an expression of the fundamental tenet of the FRG education system that individuals should be enabled and encouraged to form independent views and not simply accept and absorb information that is provided. Marxists argue that schoolchildren are given insufficient guidance, and are likely to flounder in the face of the huge amount of information available; however, since the pupils are not working alone, but with the guidance of a teacher, this is unlikely frequently to be the case. The textbook is simply an expression of the educational ideology of the state, and must be seen in the context of the education system as a whole.

These differences discovered in interpersonal aspects of the language of the two sets of texts can thus be seen to confirm what was established in relation to the ideational function: there are linguistic differences between the two sets of texts which reflect and reinforce the conceptual and ideological differences between the education systems and the two German states as a whole.

Notes

- 1 A more critical view of the use of the first person plural in socialisation is taken by Pateman, who regards it as serving a repressive function in

presupposing a shared world and implicitly denying that their subject matter might be a matter of reflection, inquiry and dispute, or even that they have a subject matter: the statements are naturalised . . . deprived of their cognitive and consequently provisional status. (Pateman (1975:53), quoted in Kochman (1978:116). See similarly Ohmann (1976:175f)).

On the use of personal pronouns more generally, see Dieckmann (1969:110f); Hopster (1970:20); Bergmann and Schubert (1971:599); Zimmermann (1972:122f); W Schneider (1976:200); Fleischer (1977:59); Bachem (1979:104); Law (1980:32f); H Wagner (1981:29). See also Rumpf (1979:124, 126) on pronoun usage in school text books in the Weimar Republic; O'Dell (1978:119) writes as follows on pronoun usage in Soviet school textbooks:

A constant element of the readers' style is that the child is always addressed in an intimate, friendly manner . . . The Russian child is told "You (ty) were born in a country where there are not distinctions between rich and poor" . . . Whether he is convinced by this or not, he will feel that he is being personally spoken to by a friend. Likewise, the intimate form of the possessive adjective is used . . . Young readers then are not addressed pompously or en masse. They are all individuals, each of whom is cherished by the state, by the Soviet power; this is the implication.

This contrasts with the usage in the GDR texts under discussion in this thesis, although as we discuss below the singular form of address is used in the questions and tasks.

- 2 See for example the following quotation:

So entstehen in angestrengter Arbeit die Umriss unserer langfristigen Volkswirtschaftspläne, der Fünfjahrpläne, und der Volkswirtschaftspläne für die jeweiligen Jahre. Dabei geht es nicht einfach um mehr Produkte und um bessere Waren, sondern um das Wohl der Menschen, um die Befriedigung ihrer Bedürfnisse. Dieses sozialistische Anliegen der Planung unserer volkswirtschaftlichen Entwicklung wird dadurch verwirklicht, daß die Initiative für die Ausarbeitung unserer Wirtschaftspläne von der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands ausgeht, daß sie den staatlichen Organen und den Betriebskollektiven die Orientierung für die Planausarbeitung gibt, daß sie den Weg in die Zukunft weist. Die Leistungen am Arbeitsplatz und die Diskussionen über den Planentwurf, die Vervollkommnung des Entwurfs durch Vorschläge vor allem aus der gewerkschaftlichen Arbeit und den Beratungen unserer Genossenschaftsbauern, unterstützt durch die unermüdliche Arbeit der Volksvertreter und der Staatsfunktionäre, ermöglichen dann die Ausarbeitung eines ausgewogenen, alle wichtigen Bereiche unseres gesellschaftlichen

- 3 See 7/51f on Die demokratische Bodenreform.
- 4 See Gibson and Levin (1975:427f), where they discuss among other issues the optimal positioning of questions and tasks in pedagogic texts. They write that if the questions on a text are placed in too close proximity to that text, then only short-term memory will be involved in the answering of them, and thus the information contained in the texts will be less likely to be retained by the reader, and his/her overall level of performance will be low. On this issue see also Hartung (1974:365), where he states that the inclusion of too many questions on a text can lead to a devaluation of questions as a pedagogic device.
- 5 Lipski also emphasises that questions should not be too suggestive or too easily answered (Lipski (1979:615)), and gives a survey of some work carried out in this field in the FRG. For other western views on this issue, see Cole (1975:259f); Green (1975:120f), where Green discusses a variety of forms of request, which he terms "impositives"; Schmerder and Tausch (1978). The questions and tasks in both sets of school-books fulfil the felicity-conditions discussed by Ross as follows:
 - a) The act requested is subsequent to the time of requesting.
 - b) The speaker wants the act requested to be performed.
 - c) The speaker believes that the hearer has the ability to carry out the act.
 - d) The speaker believes that the hearer is willing to carry out the act.(Ross (1975:238f))

Despite their comparability on this level, however, the questions and tasks in the two sets of texts differ radically as a result of the different text-types to which they belong.
- 6 Neuner et al (1976:531) write that it is not necessarily the case that all the questions in the GDR texts must be dealt with in the form in which they stand in the books, but that they can be adapted and amended to suit the abilities of individual pupils; this does not detract from our arguments here as to the nature of the questions, however, since the same type of answer is required at all times, irrespective of the degree of difficulty involved in reaching that answer.
- 7 Schoop (1976).
- 8 Lipski (1979:614f) discusses three levels of questions and tasks, ranging from questions on content to more general issues and finally to a request for a personal opinion; these appear in inverse proportion to the degree of difficulty involved.
- 9 See for example Stritzke (1974:261):

Sicherlich kann das Buch Aufgaben und Situationen, die der Festigung und der Anwendung dienen, in mannigfachen Variationen anbieten. Dabei sollten

nicht nur wieder Motivation, Lebensnähe, Entwicklungsangemessenheit im Vordergrund stehen, sondern auch eine sorgfältige Steigerung des Schwierigkeitsgrades sowie optimale Differenzierung angestrebt werden.

- 10 For a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the use of specialist terminology in non-specialist texts, see Fleischer (1977:131f).

6 Modal verbs, modality and modulation

There are three main aspects to Halliday's interpersonal component of language, the social, the expressive and the conative (see Halliday and Hasan (1976:26-7); see also Henle (1958:131)). It is the function which permits interaction between sender and receiver, in which the sender can voice personal views and evaluations of the subject matter, and attempt to influence the receiver to react in a particular way (see Halliday (1968a:210); (1973 :106); (1974b:50)). We have dealt with the first and last of these features in the sections on forms of address and questions and tasks respectively, and it is not feasible for us to deal with them in any greater detail or speculate on the results of the sender's efforts. In the present section we concentrate on the second of the three aspects mentioned above, the expressive, and demonstrate how a sender's assessment of subject matter as expressed through the use of modal verbs and modifiers is an important component of ideological language. This continues our discussion of the power-relations depicted in the two sets of texts.

In the section on agency and initiation we demonstrated that the surface structure of a sentence can be ambiguous or misleading with regard to the real-life power-relationships obtaining among the participants in the process depicted. The use of modal verbs and modifiers in the presentation of such relationships is also particularly interesting, since, through the use of modal auxiliaries in particular, writers are able both to make unambiguous statements with regard to the abilities of various social groups to initiate their own actions or those of others, and also to obfuscate the precise nature of any problematic relationships between these groups. We begin our discussion with a consideration of the use of modal verbs in the two sets of texts.

Halliday regards modal verbs as occupying a transitional position between the ideational and the interpersonal functions of language; he calls their use in the ideational component "modulation", and in the interpersonal component "modality":

Modality and modulation are the same system in different functions . . . In both cases we have to do with some kind of qualification of the process expressed in the clause, or rather of the complex of 'process + participant'; either this qualification resides in the speaker's own mind, or it resides in the circumstances. (Monaghan (1979:171); see also Halliday (1970b:347f); (1982:140))

In other words, modal verbs and modifiers are used to express either a fact or an opinion, and frequently it is difficult to differentiate between these. Boyd and Thorne (1968) draw a similar distinction between the use of modal verbs in statements and in commands. This dual usage of modal verbs in English applies in a very similar way to German (see for example Kratzer (1976)), and it is a very useful tool for ideologues, in that modal verbs enable opinions and value-judgements to be presented in the same linguistic form as facts. It is extremely unlikely that unsophisticated receivers, such as the readers of school textbooks, will be able to recognise such constructions, and statements of belief are likely to be read as statements of actual facts.

Halliday differentiates between modality, as in "You must be very careless", and modulation, as in "You must be very careful tonight"; within modulation he then further differentiates between active modulations, expressing independent attributes of the actor, as in "Jones can drive", and passive modulations, where the attributes are granted by some external agency, as in "Jones may go out" (examples are taken here from Monaghan (1979:171); see also McTear (1979:103f)). Kraak makes a similar distinction between "Charles has to work" (Halliday's modulation) and "Charles must be working" (Halliday's modality) (Kraak (1968); see also Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1971:84)). Reinwein makes a distinction similar to Halliday's two types of modulation with his "intrasubjective" and "extrasubjective" modal verbs (Reinwein (1977)). We adopt Reinwein's terminology in this discussion. Kratzer distinguishes four types of modal verb, the epistemic, equivalent to Halliday's modality, the dispositional, equivalent to Halliday's active modulation, and the deontic and the preferential, both of which correspond in part to Halliday's passive modulation (Kratzer (1976) *passim*. For other discussions of modal verbs see Huddleston et al (1968:237-253); Gray (1977:62f); Coates (1983)).

In much of the work done by the UEA linguists, Halliday's original distinction between modality and modulation appears to have been dropped, and the focus of attention has shifted from the linguistic aim of a description and classification of modal verbs to the critical aim of a discussion of their use in actual utterances as a means of expressing and maintaining unequal power-relations (see for example Fowler et al (1979), esp p 185-213; Kress and Hodge (1979), esp p 122f;

Law (1980) passim; see also Uhlig (1972:181)). Kress and Hodge use the term "modality" to cover all three areas of expression of fact, of opinion and of compulsion (Kress and Hodge (1979:122)), and write that it is often difficult or impossible to determine to which of these three categories an utterance containing a modal verb (MV) is to be assigned, and continue:

We can hypothesize and suggest that, since language functions to deceive as well as to inform, every component of the grammar will contain one set of forms which allow the speaker to avoid making distinctions which are primary and another set where these distinctions have to be made sharply and with precision. (Kress and Hodge (1979:125))

In this section of our analysis we discuss the use of MVs in ideological texts, and demonstrate that many occurrences of MV constructions are unclear in the ways described by Kress, with the result that an utterance which contains a statement of opinion or interpretation can be read as a statement of fact. We deal again with the position of workers in society and their relationships with other social groups.

6.1 Modal verbs in the GDR texts

There are relatively few occurrences in the GDR texts of intrasubjective MVs relating to the workers under capitalism, for the reasons (a) that there is relatively little specific discussion of the workers themselves in capitalism, the focus falling rather on the policies and actions of the exploitative capitalists, and (b) that whilst, according to ML theory, the workers in capitalism have great potential power, ie intrasubjective ability, they are not able to recognise and exploit this until they and society have reached a certain stage of development (see WB:soz St:15-16). The vast majority of the MVs used in connection with the working class in capitalism are extrasubjective, as in the examples below, in which the workers and people in general are the agents of the processes, but act on external initiation:

- 1 Die Bedingungen, unter denen (der Arbeiter) seine Arbeitskraft verkaufen muß, werden ihm vom Unternehmer diktiert. (9/22)
- 2 Die Arbeiterklasse, die am stärksten ausgebeutet wird, muß die Hauptlast der imperialistischen Profitwirtschaft tragen. (10/50)

- 3 Was die Menschen denken sollen, womit sie sich
 beschäftigen sollen, was sie hassen und lieben sollen,
 das bestimmen die Imperialisten. (7/89-80)

Whilst the sentences quoted above are straightforward and uncontroversial, the examples which we discuss below demonstrate how the inherent ambiguity of MVs as discussed above can be exploited in ideological contexts in a way which allows the distinction between fact and opinion to become blurred. This may be the result of a lack of clarity in the ideology itself, or the reflex of a mismatch between ideology and reality. MVs are very useful in this kind of context, since they permit different interpretations by different readers of the same text, and this flexibility of interpretation in turn permits a greater degree of acceptance of ideological statements among a wider range of receivers. We are not suggesting that the authors of the GDR texts deliberately produced ambiguous or unclear statements, or that they had any type of sinister motives in producing the texts; we are interested simply in the ways in which problematic ideological issues are dealt with in language.

In contrast to the mass of ordinary workers (Werkstätige) the working class in capitalist society has, according to ML theory, achieved a sufficient degree of political and social awareness to be able to guide other groups in the struggle for socialism; this is reflected in the use of intrasubjective können in the sentences below:

- 4 In der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft ist die Arbeiterklasse
 die einzige Klasse, die alle ausgebeuteten und unterdrückten
 Klassen und Schichten um sich vereinigen kann, die die
 Fähigkeit entwickelt, den Kampf aller Werktätigen zur
 Durchsetzung ihrer Interessen zu leiten. (9/49)
- 5 Im Klassenkampf gegen das Kapital kann das Proletariat
 der Bourgeoisie ökonomische und soziale Zugeständnisse
 abtrotzen und seine Lage in gewissem Maße verbessern. (9/29)

Whilst this use of können is clearly intended to be read as an active modulation, ie a statement of objective fact, it can also be read by a non-marxist as a modality, ie the expression of an opinion on the part of the speaker, since the statement is ultimately untestable and can be proved to be true only within an ML framework. (The issue of testability is dealt with in more detail in a separate section below).

The following sentences are similar to those discussed above, in that statements containing MVs are made which appear to have the status of objectively verifiable universal truths, whilst in fact they are simply part of a particular belief-system and have validity only within the framework of that system. They appear intrasubjective, but can also be read as extrasubjective, or as modality in Halliday's sense, ie as an imperative or an expression of desire rather than of fact:

- 6 Das Proletariat muß den Machtapparat der Bourgeoisie zerschlagen und ihr die eigene Macht, auch mit den notwendigen Gewaltmitteln, entgegensetzen. (9/59)
- 7 Der politische Klassenkampf kann nur erfolgreich sein, wenn die Arbeitermassen auf der Grundlage eines entwickelten Klassenbewußtseins handeln. (9/35)

It could be asked how far the pupils reading these texts would be able to differentiate between fact and belief in this way, particularly when it is the task of the teacher to teach them to accept these beliefs as facts. The sentences above are likely to be understood as objectively true and as prescriptions for action.

Whilst the reader is expected to accept as correct statements made by the rulers of the GDR, or presented as universal truths with no obvious utterer, like those above, he is by contrast required to treat with scepticism statements from capitalist sources, in particular the FRG. This is seen in the following sentence in the use of sollen: the MV is quoted as a passive modulation/extrasubjective modal from the point of view of the capitalists, but since their real intention is transparent and discounted as impossible to maintain, the MV also contains a comment of scepticism on the part of the authors, ie it can be read as a modality, or an expression of an opinion:

- 8 Die geistige Manipulierung soll die Entwicklung des Klassenbewußtseins der Arbeiterklasse behindern, die Volksmassen in Unwissenheit halten und damit helfen, den gesellschaftlichen Fortschritt aufzuhalten. (10/52)

Here again it is doubtful whether the pupils will be able to differentiate consciously between these two readings of sollen; however, they will very probably develop the habit of questioning and being prepared to disbelieve what they read in the context of capitalism. The black-and-white picture that is painted for them of the opposition between capitalism and socialism is intended to ensure that they do not question the integrity of statements from socialist sources.

In discussions of the situation of working people in socialism, the precise meaning of MVs employed is frequently unclear, in that it is difficult to distinguish between intrasubjective and extrasubjective usage. In the same way as the workers are not always the initiators of their own actions, as was seen above, so their abilities as depicted through the use of MVs do not always originate within themselves or their group. Whilst in some cases causal links between external events and subsequent intrasubjective ability are made explicit, this is not always so; the result is a lack of clarity with regard to the actual degree of autonomy enjoyed by working people.

- 9 An den Universitäten wurden Arbeiter-und-Bauern Fakultäten (ABF) geschaffen, damit junge Werktätige, denen es bisher nicht möglich gewesen war, eine höhere Schulbildung zu erlangen, sich auf das Studium an den Hochschulen vorbereiten und ihre Reifeprüfung ablegen konnten . . . Die Werktätigen konnten sich nunmehr erstmalig in der deutschen Geschichte allseitig bilden.
(7/31) (1)

In the example above the young farmers have a new ability. The text shows that this is not totally independent by drawing an explicit causal connection (damit) between the creation of the new faculties (done by outside agents) and the beginning of the ability of the peasants.

The following sentence is similar: again the causal connection is explicit, and it is made clear to the reader that the ability of the workers originates outside:

- 10 Unsere Gesellschaft schafft die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Grundlagen dafür, daß jeder das gleiche Recht auf Bildung wahrnehmen kann . . . Durch gesellschaftliche und berufliche Weiterbildung in vielen Formen ist gesichert, daß jeder Werktätige seine politische und fachliche Bildung auf dem neuesten Stand halten kann. (8/97)

In this extract the interplay in können between permission granted from outside and independent ability is paralleled by the ambiguity of the nominalised verb Weiterbildung (see Halliday (1970b:340)); as in the cases discussed earlier in the section on agency and initiation, it is not made clear whether the workers are the agents of this process and, if so, whether they are also the initiators of their own actions, or whether they are the entity affected by the process of which the agent is deleted. It is clear from this extract that the workers now have more opportunities to continue their education, and that the state is ultimately responsible for this. It is important

to the authors of the book and to the ruling group whose point of view they are presenting that the reader should appreciate both these aspects of the contemporary situation, and react accordingly by exploiting his fortunate position and conforming to the wishes of the benevolent state (2).

The sentences below, relating to the right to work, are similar to those above:

11 In unserer sozialistischen Gesellschaft kann jeder nach seinen Fähigkeiten arbeiten und wird jeder nach seiner Leistung entlohnt. (7/66)

12 Jeder Bürger kann sich bemühen, dort zu arbeiten, wo er möchte. (8/93)

Here again people have the ability and freedom to act according to their capabilities; these capabilities are clearly personal and intrasubjective, but the ability to exploit them is granted from outside, ie kann is both intrasubjective and extrasubjective. The people are the syntactic subject here (M-subject), but are in terms of transitivity the beneficiaries of an action performed by a deleted agent: even if the people themselves decide how much they will work, an external force still decides how much that work is worth.

The "command structure" (3) which is operating here is not made explicit, and the ability of the subjects of the sentences above appears intrasubjective. Kress and Hodge write in this regard:

The third-person non-transactive . . . has clear advantages for an ideologue, who wishes to mystify the basis of his authority and the fact that authority rather than reason is being appealed to. (Kress and Hodge (1979:24))

We do not wish to suggest that the examples above were written with deliberately deceitful intent, but wish to indicate simply that the type of structure illustrated here is useful for the presentation of information from a particular ideological standpoint, where there may be a "mismatch" between ideology and reality. We return to the issue of whether, and to what extent, such statements are testable against that reality in a later section.

The statements quoted in examples 11 and 12 are based on the Constitution of the GDR, article 24, paragraph 1:

Jeder Bürger der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik hat das

Recht auf Arbeit. Er hat das Recht auf einen Arbeitsplatz und dessen freie Wahl entsprechend den gesellschaftlichen Erfordernissen und der persönlichen Qualifikation.

It is significant that the right to choose one's place of work is limited in this way: not only do the needs of society appear to take precedence over personal ability (desires are not mentioned in the Constitution), but the fact that this right is limited in this way makes it quite legitimate for the school-texts to employ the verb können in examples 11 and 12: the workers' ability/permission to seek work where they choose is not limited. There is, however, no mention of the prospects of success in these attempts; the emphasis falls exclusively on the freedom to try, and the likelihood of succeeding is glossed over. The können here is being used in a sense very like that of dürfen (see Kress and Hodge (1979:125) on MVs of ability and permission).

The interplay discerned above between intrasubjective and extrasubjective elements in the MVs employed reflects the dialectical relationship of Rechte und Pflichten that is continually stressed in the GDR texts. In the examples below this is seen in the combination of intrasubjective and extrasubjective features in the MVs, modal adverbs and nouns, and nominalised verbs: again all these sentences appear to be intrasubjective, but could also be read as extrasubjective or even modal/deontic:

- 13 Fleißig und erfolgreich zu arbeiten ist nicht nur Recht, sondern auch grundlegende Pflicht jedes arbeitsfähigen Bürgers. (8/94)
- 14 Die Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aller sozialistischen Bruderländer besagen, daß die gesamte Bevölkerung und das ganze Land allseitig am Schutz und an der Verteidigung unseres sozialistischen Vaterlands teilnehmen müssen. (8/105)
- 15 Deshalb ist es notwendig und besonders ehrenvoll, daß viele Jugendliche sich zum Dienst als Soldat auf Zeit oder für einen militärischen Beruf entscheiden. (8/107)

Whilst the compulsory elements of life under a socialist system are played down or presented as duties which good citizens are proud to perform, in the context of a capitalist system compulsion is seen as one of the major contributory factors in the development of solidarity among the workers. In the passage quoted below the workers act mainly on the initiation of the machines with which they work; the

results of this "forced labour" are however ultimately positive:

- 16 Die Fabrikarbeit verlangt vom Arbeiter eine strenge Disziplin. Pünktlich muß er die Arbeit beginnen und diszipliniert mit seinen Arbeitskollegen den Bewegungen, Anforderungen und dem Arbeitsrhythmus der Maschinen folgen. Die Maschinerie verlangt vom Arbeiter eine aufeinander abgestimmte gemeinsame Tätigkeit, weil der Arbeitsprozeß arbeitsteilig organisiert ist. Die Fabrikarbeit erzwingt eine "soldatistische" Disziplin im Interesse des Kapitals, aber gleichzeitig lernen die Arbeiter, diese Disziplin in ihrem Klassenkampf zu nutzen. (9/49)

The use of können and Möglichkeiten in the examples below is similar to that in examples 11 and 12, in that intrasubjective ability derives ultimately from an external source:

- 17 Uneingeschränkt kann (die Arbeiterklasse) sich für das gesellschaftliche Eigentum an den Produktionsmitteln einsetzen. (9/48)
- 18 Das Recht zur Mitgestaltung ist dadurch gewährleistet, daß alle Bürger alle Machtorgane demokratisch wählen und an ihrer Tätigkeit mitwirken können. (8/85)
- 19 In allen Betrieben beraten die Werktätigen bereits bei der Planaufstellung für das kommende Jahr, welche höheren Ziele sie sich über die staatlichen Planaufgaben hinaus stellen können. (10/103)
- 20 Weitere Möglichkeiten der Mitarbeit bieten die öffentlichen Beratungen von Beschlußentwürfen. (8/86)

The presupposition implicit in all these examples is that the participants wish to perform the processes mentioned, and will in fact do so; the possibility of their refusing to participate in socially desirable processes or doing so only under feelings of duress is not countenanced. It is part of ML doctrine that the correct world-view includes recognition of the duties of the individual to the state, and this view is the only one with which the reader is confronted. The sentences below demonstrate the prescriptive nature of these texts more clearly, whilst still having the surface structure of statements of fact:

- 21 Nur derjenige wird seine Aufgaben als Staatsbürger und Werktätiger in den nächsten Jahrzehnten lösen können, der über eine ausgezeichnete politische und fachliche Bildung verfügt. (8/97)
- 22 Erreichen können die Arbeiter nur etwas, wenn sie als Klasse geschlossen auftreten, wenn sie um ihre Forderungen kämpfen und nicht zurückweichen. (9/53)

Wollen is frequently used to stress the desire to act in accordance

with ML laws of social and political development as in the examples below:

- 23 Die Arbeiterklasse kämpft jedoch nicht um die Beseitigung des kapitalistischen Eigentums, um für sich selbst dieses Eigentum zu gewinnen, sondern sie will jede Form von Privateigentum an Produktionsmitteln für immer unmöglich machen. (9/48)
- 24 (Die Werktätigen unserer Republik) wollen die DDR weiter allseitig stärken und die Überlegenheit der sozialistischen Gesellschaftsordnung im Herzen Europas noch deutlicher sichtbar machen. Sie wollen ihr Leben in Frieden schöner und reicher gestalten. (10/117)

Whilst the MVs in these sentences are clearly intended to be read as intrasubjective, they also contain extrasubjective, imperative elements in that they depict a socially desirable attitude that the reader is expected to adopt. Whilst the sentences quoted reflect official doctrine as to the mental attitude of the workers, they are untestable in real terms, and like können discussed above may well reflect a theoretical rather than an actual state of affairs.

The use of müssen and brauchen in the sentences below is similarly ambiguous and untestable: if they are read as intrasubjective, then the compulsion to act and the need for the Party are the results of historical inevitability and as such independently generated; if they are taken to be extrasubjective, then some deleted initiator, presumably the Party or Party doctrine, can be seen to be exercising compulsion from outside:

- 25 Die Arbeiterklasse muß gemeinsam mit ihren Verbündeten ihre politische Macht, insbesondere ihren Staat, konsequent gegen den Widerstand der Bourgeoisie einsetzen. (9/51)
- 26 (Die ML Partei) muß (andere Klassen) an den Kampf der Arbeiterklasse heranziehen, indem sie an ihren Interessen anknüpft und ihnen zeigt, daß sie nur gemeinsam mit der Arbeiterklasse und ihren Zielen auch ihre eigene Lage verbessern können. (9/56)
- 27 Damit die Arbeiterklasse sich ihrer Klassenlage und ihrer historischen Mission voll bewußt wird, braucht sie die ML Partei. (9/50)

The sentences below are more clearly extrasubjective, and like in examples 21 and 22 above the MVs have the effect of changing the sentences from statements into imperatives:

- 28 So müssen die Arbeiter und alle übrigen Werktätigen in ihrem Denken und Handeln weit über den Bereich ihres Betriebes und über die Grenzen ihres Landes hinausgehen.

Sie müssen sich vom proletarischen Internationalismus leiten lassen. (7/47)

In the second sentence in example 28 there is an extremely intricate system of power-relations operating: there is a command (müssen) from a group external to the workers that these should, voluntarily, relinquish their freedom of action and follow a particular course and body of ideas. Since the workers are the M-subject of this sentence they appear also to be the independent agents of the processes involved, but on a closer reading it can be seen that this is not, in fact, the case. The power-relations in this example are similar to those in example 29 below, in that in both the workers are forced to act as a result of external pressure:

29 Um leben zu können, ist der Arbeiter folglich gezwungen, das einzige, was er besitzt, seine Arbeitskraft, an den kapitalistischen Unternehmer zu verkaufen. (9/22)

The difference between the two examples is that example 29 refers to the state of affairs under capitalism, and example 28 to the position of the workers under socialism. In example 29 the external pressure is made clear through the use of gezwungen, whilst in example 28 it is less explicit as a result of the use of müssen. This clearly reflects the ML belief in the fundamentally different position of the workers under capitalism and under socialism, but to a non-ML reader the actual power-relations behind these two examples could appear very similar, with the workers clearly subordinate in both.

This type of power-relation has already been discussed in the section on agency and initiation. Whilst it was stated there that the workers consciously and voluntarily let other groups initiate their actions, here they are explicitly compelled to do so. The complexity of the interplay of intrasubjective and extrasubjective elements here is overwhelming, and allows a great variety of interpretations to be placed on the statement made.

We are not suggesting that the external source of the imperative, whether it be the Party, the government or the authors of the text, has itself decided that the workers must act in this particular way, but rather the authors are quoting orthodox doctrine that this is the desirable state of affairs in a socialist state. In fact, the origins of the imperative are not made clear, and this lack of clarity reinforces the impression that these sentences contain self-evident universal truths that do not require any explanation, rather

than simply the opinions of one particular group that are ultimately untestable against extralinguistic reality. The following examples are similar:

- 30 Die Beziehungen zur Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei müssen unser ganzes Leben tragen. (9/21)
- 31 Erfordernisse des Gesetzes der planmäßigen proportionalen Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft müssen durch die zentrale Leitung und Planung unter Führung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei bewußt beachtet und durch entsprechende Entscheidungen durchgesetzt werden. (10/83)
- 32 Die Arbeiterklasse muß gemeinsam mit ihren Verbündeten ihre politische Macht, insbesondere ihren Staat, konsequent gegen den Widerstand der Bourgeoisie einsetzen. Sie darf dabei, wenn es notwendig ist, auch nicht vor der bewaffneten Auseinandersetzung mit ihrem Klassengegner zurückschrecken. (9/51)

In the second example above it is not only the originator of the compulsion that is deleted: precisely who is the agent of what process in the rest of the sentences is also extremely unclear. The structure has undergone many complex transformations and it is not possible to recover a single deep structure that unambiguously underlies the sentence as it stands. The agents of Leitung, Planung, beachten, Entscheidungen and durchsetzen are all deleted, and whilst the working class and the Party form the joint leadership and initiating group for the performance of these processes - which are extremely general and imprecise - they may also be read as the major agents of these processes since no other groups are mentioned. The ambiguity of durch as to whether it refers to the agents of the process, or simply to an instrument with the help of which the process is performed, adds to the obscurity here. The picture that emerges appears to be one in which events organise themselves inevitably into an ordered series with a little help from the politically aware workers, whilst the ordinary workers, who presumably ensure that these things are done in real life, are not mentioned. Whilst the reader may be comforted to see that the laws of social development are operating in such a way as to ensure the continued upward progress of society, he is hardly likely at this point to feel personally involved or important.

The doctrine of historical inevitability is discussed explicitly for the first time in the ninth class in the following sentence, and is immediately linked with müssen:

- 33 Marx deckte in seinem Hauptwerk die Widersprüche der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft auf, entschlüsselte das Geheimnis der kapitalistischen Ausbeutung und bewies damit die Gesetzmäßigkeit des Klassenkampfes, der unvermeidlich zum Sieg über die Bourgeoisie führen muß. (9/8)

The certainty of the predictions made in this sentence, the use of beweisen rather than vorschlagen or behaupten, the use of definite articles and the modal adverb of certainty unvermeidlich is typical of the GDR texts (see Halliday (1970b:329)). The possibility of viable alternatives, or that Marx was wrong, is not countenanced. In Hallidayan terms this is clearly modality, with the speaker intruding his views into the message.

The following sentence also illustrates the force of historical necessity on the workers. It is significant that Entwicklung is collocated with a reflexive verb, ie it is independent and acts upon itself, (cf our discussion of sich leiten lassen in the section on agency above). The working class appears in the syntactically inferior position of an adjunct clause with nominalised verbs - it is depicted as one feature among many of a system that runs itself once a particular stage in development has been reached:

- 34 Die Entwicklung der sozialistischen genossenschaftlichen Produktion muß sich unter Führung der Arbeiterklasse, schrittweise, auf dem Weg überzeugender Beispiele und materieller Hilfe durch die Arbeiterklasse vollziehen. (7/52)

Können is also occasionally used in an extrasubjective way in connection with the historical necessity of events, as in the example below:

- 35 Dieses Klassenbewußtsein, in dessen Zentrum die wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung und von der historischen Mission der Arbeiterklasse steht, kann bei den Arbeitern nicht durch bloße Lebenserfahrungen entstehen. (9/35)

This sentence again contains modally "certain" terms in Erkenntnis and Gesetzmäßigkeit, and in the definite articles used.

6.2 Modal verbs in the FRG texts

In the FRG texts there is an interplay between internal and external forces in the depiction of the position of the workers similar to that discovered in the GDR texts, but since there is in the FRG no

single interpretation of social reality and the path events should take, it is less easy to discuss these features in relation to a particular ideology than is the case with the GDR texts. There is no one group that is believed to be the most powerful and progressive, and thus no attempt is made to present any particular picture of the power-relationships obtaining between the various groups in society, apart from the relatively vague concept of Partnerschaft.

As was the case in the GDR texts, more sentences were found to contain extrasubjective MVs than contained intrasubjective ones. In a random sample of texts from both Thema Politik and Gesellschaft und Politik the most common extrasubjective MV was müssen, followed by sollen and dürfen; other examples included brauchen and können. The most common intrasubjective MV was können, of which roughly 30% of the occurrences were negated. Roughly 27% of the MVs discovered could not be immediately classified as unambiguously extrasubjective or intrasubjective; half of these involved the use of können.

The fact that the workers are more often presented with extrasubjective MVs than with intrasubjectives, and that these intrasubjective verbs are themselves frequently negated, suggests that the workers are regarded as being largely without power and at the mercy of the system as a whole. In fact, although this is broadly the picture that emerges, it is not quite as straightforward as this, since some incidences of MVs involve discussion of theoretical and hypothetical situations that do not actually exist.

In the two examples below the workers or their representatives have a certain amount of independent ability which is not in itself limited or constrained; there are, however, limits on the conditions in which they acquire this independence: in the first sentence only the organised workers have their own desires, the mass of the workers being the beneficiaries of their actions, rather than agents themselves, and in the second sentence only certain income groups are included:

- 36 Die Gewerkschaften wollen nicht nur dafür sorgen, daß alle Arbeitnehmer angemessene Löhne bekommen, die Arbeitsbedingungen menschlich sind und der Urlaub ausreichend. (TP, p 138)
- 37 Ab 1000 Mark Einkommen monatlich können Arbeitnehmerfamilien daran denken zu sparen. (G&P, p 163)

The workers are presented as being able, in their turn, to influence, to a certain extent, the external factors which affect their situation: both books stress that job-type and income depend on education and training, and that people who undergo these will put themselves in the position of being able to earn more and have a higher standard of living, and this interplay and balancing of internal and external forces in the life of the individual is reflected in the texts (see for example G&P, p 41, 60-1; TP, p 117f, 122). We discuss examples of this type of usage below.

38 Heute kann jeder Auszubildende verlangen, daß sich die Ausbildungsbetriebe nach den gesetzlichen Vorschriften richten. (TP, p 80)

39 Die Arbeitnehmer können für jedes Unternehmen einen Betriebsrat wählen, der insbesondere in Personalfragen, Ausbildungsfragen und sozialen Belangen Informations-, Anhörungs- und Beteiligungsrechte hat. (TP, p 133)

As in sentences 11 and 12 above these examples concern the realm of theory rather than reality; the workers have an ability granted by law (4); however, unlike in the GDR examples, there are no explicit limitations placed on this ability. Rather it allows the workers to influence the actions of others. These examples are like the GDR examples 11 and 12, where können is used in a similar sense to dürfen.

Whilst the workers gain some abilities as a result of legislation, the scope of their activities is also clearly delimited and they are obliged to do some things and refrain from doing others:

40 Die Journalisten müssen bei ihrer Arbeit darauf achten, daß sie zum einen dem Auftrag gerecht werden, ihre Leser zu informieren. (TP, p 94)

41 Aber "Er (und auch die Streikenden) darf Streikbrecher nicht beleidigen, nicht gegen sie tätlich werden oder sie sonst in ihrer Freiheit einengen". (G&P, p 33, quoting law on picketing)

The above quotations are based on legislation (5) and reflect directly the rights and obligations of the individual as codified in law. Beyond this the workers are, to a certain extent, at the mercy of the environment in general, and where legislation does not reach the individual has to take care of himself as best he can:

42 Wer keine oder nur eine Lehr- oder Anlernausbildung ohne weitere Berufsausbildung (etwa zum Techniker) ins Arbeitsleben mitbringt, muß sein Tätigkeitsfeld öfter wechseln. (G&P, p 168)

- 43 Neue Apparaturen und Verfahrenstechniken müssen bewältigt werden. Der einzelne muß also auf einen raschen Wechsel von einer spezialisierten Tätigkeit zu einer anderen gefaßt sein. (TP, p 117)

In these examples the workers are subordinate to the dictates of the economic and industrial system, and do not determine their own actions; in example 43 processes and technology are the most important things, and people simply adjuncts to them. In the first sentence here the workers are not even mentioned, and in the second their whole state of mind is dictated by the system. The sentences below are similar, in that they refer to areas of life for which no specific legislation exists:

- 44 Wollen Familien ohne materielle Sorgen leben, müssen eines oder mehrere ihrer Mitglieder so viel Geld verdienen, daß sie ohne wesentliche Hilfe von außen die Grundlagen ihrer gemeinsamen Existenz schaffen und sichern können. (G&P, p 201)

- 45 Mit anderen Worten: will der Arbeitnehmer seine Beteiligungsrechte nicht verlieren, muß er im Betrieb bleiben, er kann also seinen Arbeitsplatz nicht wechseln. (G&P, p 168)

In these examples the interplay of internal and external forces is seen in the alternating use of both intrasubjective and extrasubjective MVs, wollen determining müssen and müssen determining können.

In those areas unaffected by legislation, where custom and familiar usage determine people's attitudes and behaviour rather than legal guidelines, the position of the individual is less clear-cut even than in the examples discussed above, and it is frequently impossible to decide definitively whether MVs used in this context are to be read as intrasubjective or extrasubjective. In most cases they contain elements of both, as in the following examples:

- 46 Was die Frau sich heute nicht mehr zu gefallen lassen braucht, ist, daß man sie gegen ihre Fähigkeit mit anderen Arbeiten beschäftigt - sie kann sich ja jederzeit überall eine entsprechende Stelle suchen. (G&P, p 201)

Here, kann can be read as extrasubjective, a kind of dürfen as in the examples above, the result of legislation and social change in general. If, however, the reader is not aware of this causal relationship and regards the situation as natural and unremarkable, then he will regard the lack of necessity mentioned here as a normal state of affairs, as women's automatic right and as having nothing to do with the external situation; in this case the MV is read as intrasubjective (6).

- 47 Weil Vater Abteilungsleiter ist, müssen wir im Urlaub nämlich viel weiter reisen. (G&P, p 235)

This sentence is spoken by a child, and the irony is presumably unintentional. The text is explaining how the kind of holidays taken by families is usually determined by the father's job and income; the situation in this sentence is ambiguous as to whether the reference is to a purely external relationship between two separate processes, or to the closer relationship of entailment, where having holidays a long way from home would be seen as part of the father's job, rather than a result of it. This latter possibility would account for the possible intrasubjective reading of müssen here.

Sollen is commonly used in theoretical or hypothetical discussion:

- 48 Jeder Arbeitnehmer soll die Freiheit der Wahl zwischen einer ausreichenden Zahl voneinander unabhängigen Arbeitgebern haben. (TP, p 76)

This quotation from a government committee describes the ideal situation in a social market economy, and presents it as a kind of imperative.

- 49 Der Staat (DDR) soll keine einzelnen Interessen besonders begünstigen, sondern alle Werktätigen in gleicher Weise vertreten. (TP, p 143)

The above sentence is again dealing with a theoretical situation that one particular group wishes to propagate as reality; the use of sollen here as in example 8 above serves to create a distance between the senders and their message, and may suggest a degree of scepticism on their part as to the accuracy of what the GDR claims to be the case.

Similarly:

- 50 In den nächsten 4 Jahren, von 1976 bis 1979, sollen insgesamt 430 800 Arbeitsplätze neu geschaffen und rund 180 000 bereits bestehende Arbeitsplätze gesichert werden. (G&P, p 59)

- 51 Jede Form der Mitbestimmung sollte aus der Belegschaft kommen, von der Belegschaft getragen sein und im Regelfalle auf die Belegschaftsmitglieder beschränkt bleiben. (G&P, p 176)

In the sentences above we are dealing both with a theoretical situation and an actual intention - there is again a kind of imperative here. Plans and recommendations are made as to what ought to happen, but there is no promise made that this actually will happen - example 50 above does not say "dies wird gesichert werden". The use of sollen here allows the sender, Franz-Josef Strauss, both to make an assurance that an effort will be made, and to distance himself from the results

of the process if these turn out to be unfavourable.

Schmidt and Harnisch write that the imperfect subjunctive, as used in example 51 above, "(bringt) 'eine besonders starke Distanzierung vom Aussageinhalt' zum Ausdruck" (Schmidt and Harnisch (1972:102), quoting W Schmidt (1967:231)). Similarly, Gray writes on the use in English of imperatives using "have", "should", "ought" and "must", to which the German sollen in the examples above is equivalent, that

These imperatives are a kind of conditional modification: they restrict the assertion by leaving open the possibility of things being other than required . . . The precise meaning of imperatives is difficult to explain. They imply the existence of powerful forces or standards that, however, are not always in accord with the facts. And thus imperatives are elements of assertions that are ultimately not subject to interpretation as to truth or falsity. Or, more precisely, we cannot determine the precise nature of the claim. (Gray (1977:62))

This reinforces our view that in the examples above the use of sollen allows the senders to make predictions and forecasts without having to promise that what they say will actually come to fruition.

This use of sollen both by the authors of the school books themselves and by other people quoted in them shows that a distance between a speaker and what he says is regarded as quite legitimate; it is accepted that there is a gap between theory and reality, and that what is intended may not always come to fruition. This contrasts with the frequently more dogmatic GDR usage, where predictions, disguised imperatives and statements of belief are made with werden and similar "modally certain" structures:

- 52. Gemeinsam werden so die Arbeiterklasse und die Genossenschaftsbauern immer mehr die Voraussetzungen für die allmähliche Überwindung der noch bestehenden Unterschiede zwischen Stadt und Land schaffen. (7/64)
- 53. Unter Führung der Partei der Arbeiterklasse muß auch die Entwicklung dieses Teils der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern gesichert werden. (8/37)
- 54. Die sozialistische Gesellschaft birgt in sich auch alle Voraussetzungen, daß die sozialistischen Staaten über solche Soldaten, Unteroffiziere und Offiziere verfügen, die besser ausgebildet sind als ihr Gegner und ihm vor allem im Denken und Handeln überlegen sind. (10/143)

It appears that the GDR texts are attempting to transmit the view that, even if things are not perfect at present, they soon will be as a result of the socialist system; the FRG texts in contrast are more

distanced and frequently sceptical as to the feasibility of realising many of the plans that are put forward. The GDR ideology does not allow for the leadership to be wrong or to make statements it cannot uphold, but simply occasionally to mistime its actions; the FRG on the other hand does not believe in a universal panacea or the possibility that the ideal situation can ever actually exist.

6.3 The use of modifiers

This fundamental difference in attitude towards events and situations, and the possibility of predicting and describing what will happen in the future, is clearly revealed by a comparison of the modal adjectives, adverbs and other features typically used in the two sets of texts. (For examples of this type of analysis, see Halliday (1970b:330f); Hopster (1970), esp p 18f; Kress and Hodge (1979:126); McTear (1979:164f)). On a single page in GDR book 10 the following examples were found: gesetzmäßig, objektiv (7), möglich, richtig, notwendig (10/8). A passage of similar length in GDR book 9 contained the following: die einzige Klasse, die . . . , Lenin wies darauf hin, daß . . . , weil X, dann Y, ständig x 4, gewaltige revolutionäre Kraft, es ist eine unbestreitbare Tatsache, daß . . . x 2, es ist unbestreitbar, daß . . . , X führt dazu, daß . . . , ihre wahre Lage (9/46-7). These are all modally "certain" and reflect the faith of the sender that what he is saying is true. The impression of certainty gained from the above terms, many of which contain explicitly emotive or evaluative elements, is reinforced through the presentation of statements of belief as incontrovertible facts:

- 55 Die Arbeiterklasse wird durch die kapitalistischen Produktionsverhältnisse selbst hervorgebracht und entwickelt sich ständig mit der kapitalistischen Industrie. (9/46)
- 56 Ihre Lebensinteressen werden ständig durch die Bourgeoisie eingeschränkt und bedroht. (9/46)
- 57 Die starke Vertiefung des Gegensatzes zwischen der Macht und dem ungeheuren Reichtum der Monopole und der Recht- und Eigentumslosigkeit der Werktätigen führt dazu, daß immer mehr Arbeiter ihre wahre Lage erkennen. (9/47)

Whilst these sentences are presented as statements of objective truth, they are to a great degree statements of faith and of a particular interpretation and judgement of reality that is not universally accepted and which is untestable in any absolute way; this is a

feature of the operative nature of the text as discussed above.

The FRG texts contain far fewer judgemental items, and those that are present are normally balanced by a contrasting view. The statement that "Auch für die politische Ordnung der Bundesrepublik ist es notwendig, jederzeit eine große Menge an Wissen verfügbar zu haben" (TP, p 86) is relativised and explained; similarly, when a prediction is made it is normally qualified in some way:

58 Deshalb kann die voraussichtliche Ausgabenpolitik des Bundes hier schon für die Zeit bis 1978 vorgestellt werden, vorausgesetzt, daß die geschätzten Einnahmen auch wirklich in die Staatskasse kommen. (our emphasis) (G&P, p 102)

In a section on the consumer society the subheadings run as follows: Konsum - nicht alle können sich gleichviel leisten; in Hülle und Fülle - für alle?; was wir dabei vergessen; Kehrseiten der Konsumfreiheit, zum Beispiel Rauchen (TP, p 55-7). The items occurring in the running text to denote contrast and differing perspectives include auch, dagegen, aber; the previous page also contains allerdings and vielmehr. These terms occur in those sections of the text that are written by the authors themselves and perform the function of "mediating" between the various opinions that are presented. These are typically modally "certain" in one way or another, as in the following examples from one page of TP:

statements of fact: X kann gesteigert werden; der Durchschnittsbürger wird mehr als früher in der Lage sein, X zu machen;

prescriptions/statements of firmly-held belief: die Schule sollte bestätigen, daß . . .;

judgemental adjectives: die schwerwiegendste Folge. (TP, p 54)

The situation is similar in G&P, although in this book there is less authorial comment than in TP, and the reader is left much more to himself in deciding what the various extracts mean and how they relate to each other. In a section on Gastarbeiter the modality of two text-extracts is illustrated most clearly in the terms used to denote foreign workers: the first text contains: die sozial und rechtlich Mindergestellten; die Schwächsten; die Lohnabhängigen zweiter Klasse; ausländische Arbeiter x 3; "Gastarbeiter"; Ausländer (G&P, p 247). All these are neutral/positive, reflecting the sympathetic stance of the writer. This contrasts with a later extract, which contains samples

of terms that young people associate with Gastarbeiter: Arbeitspferde; Arbeitsplätze nehmen sie weg; arbeitsscheu; Ärger; Bambinimacher, Baracken; Belästigung; Benehmen (schlechtes) (G&P, p 253). The first text quoted here is dealing with the effects of economic recession on foreign workers; the writer is making generalisations, and he is at pains to point out that while this is usually the case, there are bound to be exceptions. This is done through the use of modally "probable" expressions (see Halliday (1970b:329): in aller Regel; voraussichtlich X dürften es sein. The writer also makes his opinion clear through judgemental terms: bedrohlich; (das) nicht genügend widersprochene Vorurteil. G&P is in principle sympathetic to the plight of foreign workers, and takes a fairly liberal view on this, as on most matters.

On the topic of youth unemployment G&P again presents contrasting points of view without authorial comment (G&P, p 57-8). Speakers from both CDU/CSU and SPD believe equally that measures must be taken to curb youth unemployment, and both speeches contain judgemental features reflecting this belief. There are also modally certain features reflecting the faith of the speakers in the actions of their own party. Judgemental terms include: wichtiger und entscheidender; Dringlichkeitsprogramm; nur 40 Millionen DM oder knapp 5% der Mittel; eine gute, anzuerkennende Sache (CDU/CSU); 75 Millionen . . . weitere 75 Millionen; eine enge Zusammenarbeit zwischen Bundesregierung und Bundesanstalt für Arbeit; bereits Anfang Januar (SPD). Modally certain features presented by means of modal verbs and other features include: X sollten zu Y motiviert werden; X soll ihr Lehrstellenangebot erweitern; X und Y haben Einigkeit darüber erzielt, daß . . .; X (sind) dabei Schwerpunkte; X und Y gehören zusammen.

From the contrast in beliefs and judgements expressed here there emerges a consensus that something must be done to help - this in itself is not questioned, but simply the mechanics of how it is to be done. This is a frequent feature of the FRG texts. We have dealt above with the discussion surrounding the unions and their relationship with the employers, and the basically favourable view of union activity taken by the texts. Other examples of the endorsing of one particular view by the authors, whilst admitting that other opinions are possible, include the positive nature of the constitution of the FRG (G&P, p 81f; TP, p 113f); the negative nature of political extremism,

particularly fascism (G&P, p 256f; this is hardly mentioned in TP); the negative effects of unemployment (G&P, p 54f; TP, p 122). One way in which these beliefs are transmitted is through modality expressing the opinions of the writers, whether through directly judgemental features or in what they take for granted and do not question. The message that comes over most clearly from both FRG text-books is that it is unacceptable to present a one-sided picture of things or to hold an extreme view, and that one should strive to attain a balanced and moderate view (8).

6.4 Case study

The contrast between this attitude and that typical of the GDR texts can be illustrated through a comparison of the use of modal verbs in extracts from the two sets of texts which deal with centrally-planned economies (10/98 and TP, p 128; these texts are reproduced at the end of this thesis). Whilst it must be borne in mind that the FRG text is dealing here with a "rival" system and might be suspected of making judgements that are adverse to it, we feel that this is the case only at the beginning of the extract; the modality of the latter part of the text reveals a different attitude towards the whole concept of planning from that contained in the GDR text.

Examples of MVs in the GDR text include the following:

- 59 Um eine sozialistische Wirtschaft zu leiten, zu planen und weiterzuentwickeln, sind viele komplizierte Aufgaben zu lösen . . . Die vielfältigen, ständig wachsenden und sich verändernden Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen und der ganzen Gesellschaft müssen erfaßt werden, weil sie Ausgangspunkt der sozialistischen Planung sind. Die gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen . . . müssen geschaffen werden, um die wachsenden Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen zu befriedigen. Es muß gewährleistet werden, daß sich sowohl die Wirtschaft als auch alle anderen gesellschaftlichen Bereiche planmäßig und proportional entwickeln.

The text in which these sentences occur contains approximately 190 words, and müssen occurs 8 times; as in the examples quoted above, it denotes not only the "rules of the game", what is necessary if one wishes to succeed, but also contains more catechistic elements which are much more binding in nature. The prescriptive and "compulsory" nature of the text is also illustrated in the frequent use of definite articles, of set phrases and technical terms from ML teaching

(sozialistische ökonomische Integration, planmäßig und proportional), and the clear causal connections drawn through the use of weil and um . . . zu. This text is regarded by its authors as a recipe for success, to which there is no viable alternative; similarly, the modality of Aufgaben sind zu lösen at the beginning of the extract assumes that the problem-solving will be successful: this is a prerequisite, without which the economy cannot function, but in the ML view it is historically bound to succeed.

The following sentence occurs as part of a summary of the list of tasks to be fulfilled:

- 60 Aus der Vielfalt der Notwendigkeiten, Bedürfnisse und Aufgaben und ihres Zusammenwirkens wird sichtbar, daß dafür eine straffe staatliche Leitung und breite Mitarbeit der Werktätigen erforderlich sind. (our emphasis)

The modality of all the terms underlined is "certain"; the causal relations are again made clear and no alternatives are countenanced.

This modally certain usage contrasts with the usage in the corresponding FRG text:

- 61 Die Ziele, die diese Betriebe zu erfüllen haben, werden von staatlichen Stellen in Wirtschaftsplänen festgelegt. Diese Pläne können auf demokratischem Weg zustande kommen durch Beteiligung aller Gesellschaftsmitglieder, sie können aber auch durch Entscheidungen von oben erlassen werden. Der schließlich beschlossene Plan gilt für alle, und alle müssen sich bei ihren Entscheidungen nach ihm richten. Den Wirtschaftsplänen liegen gesellschaftliche oder politische Ziele zugrunde, die mit Hilfe der Pläne verwirklicht werden sollen. Man kann sich als Ziele zum Beispiel vorstellen: Verringerung der Analphabetenzahlen oder Steigerung der Stahlproduktion. Die Planung ist ein komplizierter Prozeß. Dabei müssen berücksichtigt werden die Bedürfnisse der Gesellschaftsmitglieder, die Ziele des Plans, die technischen Möglichkeiten der Volkswirtschaft und die zur Verfügung stehenden Produktionsfaktoren. Zudem müssen Annahmen über zukünftige Entwicklungen (Schätzungen für 5, 10 oder 15 Jahre und mehr) gemacht werden.

The MVs in this extract are used in several different ways: firstly, the workers and their various firms are the affected entity of extra-subjective MVs - Betriebe haben Ziele zu erfüllen; alle müssen sich nach ihm richten. At this level there are no alternatives and no freedom of choice. The use of müssen in the final two sentences contrasts with that in the GDR text in that, whilst the features mentioned are a compulsory and inevitable part of the planning process, central planning itself is only one possible choice among several. This text

is less detailed than the GDR one with regard to the process of planning, and simply lists the major considerations which are to be taken into account, being concerned to stress the complexity of the process rather than details of its workings; the thematic structure of these two sentences is such that the focus of attention is directed away from the MVs on to the nouns, thus further reducing the "compulsory" nature of the verbs.

The concept of alternatives is introduced in the second sentence of the extract quoted here through the repetition of können with contrasting propositions. This dichotomy does not exist in the GDR text, where the conflicting nature of Beteiligung aller Gesellschaftsmitglieder and Entscheidungen von oben is seen as a harmonious dialectical relationship between straffe staatliche Leitung and breite Mitarbeit der Werktätigen, and demokratisch is not a feature of only one of these but a defining characteristic of the system itself - the sub-section is headed Der demokratische Zentralismus in der Wirtschaft.

The possibility of the existence of alternatives is also contained in the remaining two MVs in the FRG extract: sollen, as in example 48 above, reveals that the writers believe that there is a difference between theory and practice, and that what is intended and planned may not actually happen; kann similarly occurs in a "non-compulsory" context - examples are given, but they are only suggestions, and whilst this is a pedagogic device intended to inform the reader, the extrasubjective use of a normally intrasubjective verb suggests to the reader that he has a particular ability, rather than that he is being ordered directly to do something. The apparently optional nature of many of the commands and tasks in the FRG books has been discussed above.

We return to this "optional"/"compulsory" dichotomy in the section on testability below. It is part of the closed universe of the GDR texts that alternatives are not countenanced, and that the ML view is the only possible correct one, whilst the FRG texts reflect the insistence on a less prescriptive approach which we have discussed in the section on education above.

We have demonstrated in this section that the use of modal verbs and modifiers in the two sets of school textbooks differs in line with

the typological distinction which we have discerned between the texts themselves. The GDR extracts contain more modally "certain" features than do the FRG extracts, thus contributing to the operative nature of the texts, whilst the FRG extracts present a more equivocal and less "certain" picture, in line with the doctrine of pluralism and individual choice.

6.5 Conclusion

Modality, in Kress's sense, is an area central to the linguistic reflection of ideology, in that power-relations and judgements can be made clear or fudged in line with the requirements of the ideology. As was the case with agency and initiation, we have shown how it is possible to use MVs to gloss over ideologically undesirable matters and present structures that are sufficiently ambiguous to allow several readings and thus satisfy all the interested parties. As in previous sections, we would stress that this fudging is not necessarily deliberate or consciously intended to deceive, but is a result of years of immersion in the language embodying the respective ideologies of the two German states.

The frequent ambiguity which we have discussed as to whether a construction containing an MV is to be read as a modality or as a modulation, a statement of fact or of opinion, and the lack, particularly in the GDR texts, of a clear dividing-line between intra-subjective and extrasubjective MVs, make possible a variety of interpretations of a statement, thus ensuring a wider range of acceptability for that statement and lessening the likelihood of disagreement and dissent. Whilst it is more difficult in the case of the FRG texts, as a result of the lack of a single all-embracing ideology, to discern mismatches between ideology and reality, the examples which we have discussed further demonstrate the range of interpretations which can be placed on constructions containing MVs, in particular the fudging of the distinction between statements and prescriptions.

Halliday writes on this ambivalent nature of MVs as follows:

Modality and modulation are . . . remarkably similar . . . and this reveals another aspect of the functional diversity, namely that it provides the conditions for bringing together what are essentially distinct sets of semantic options.
(Halliday (1970b:350))

We have demonstrated above how it is possible to blur the dividing-line between these "essentially distinct sets of semantic options", and that this device is frequently employed in ideological texts as a means of presenting problematic or unresolved issues in an apparently straightforward and uncontroversial way.

Notes

- 1 Huddleston et al (1968) would classify this type of usage as "ability": see p 242 where they discuss the close similarity between this use of can and may in English.
- 2 See for example GDR book 8/83-4:
Welche Stellung und Mitverantwortung jeder von uns in dieser Gesellschaft hat, kommt in den Rechten und Pflichten des sozialistischen Staatsbürgers zum Ausdruck . . . Jeder sollte sich diese Rechte und Pflichten fest einprägen, damit er sie auch jederzeit verantwortungsbewußt ausüben kann.
- 3 This expression is adopted from Fowler (1980:9).
- 4 TP mentions the Berufsbildungsgesetz, Jugendarbeitsschutzgesetz, and Betriebsverfassungsgesetz in this context.
- 5 Reference is made to the Grundgesetz, article 5 on the media; article 9,3 on the right to strike; an unnamed law governing picketing and the right not to strike.
- 6 One is reminded here of the "inalienable rights" of the American Declaration of Independence; these were by no means inalienable until they were codified as such, but in modern times life is unthinkable without at least lip-service being paid to such fundamental "rights" as freedom of religion, association etc. For a discussion of the prescriptive nature of such declarations, see Gilbertson (1981a:85f); see also Benn and Peters (1969:19).
- 7 The GDR usage of objektiv is unequivocally positive, being close in meaning to wissenschaftlich; this contrasts with the term objektivistisch, a negatively evaluative term derived from Objektivismus, defined as follows:
"Der Objektivismus ist eine Methode des ideologischen Klassenkampfes der Bourgeoisie; ein zwischen Widersprüchen lavierender Objektivismus". (Klappenbach and Steinitz (1977))
- 8 See for example the following quotation from G&P:
(Es) zeigt sich, daß gesicherte, ewige Gerechtigkeitsinhalte nicht feststellbar sind. (p 135)
- the only permanent thing here is impermanency, and the individual must be prepared to adapt to changing situations and allow other people to hold views different from his own.

7 The textual component

Halliday and Hasan write as follows on the nature of text:

A text . . . is not just a string of sentences. In other words, it is not simply just a large grammatical unit, something of the same kind as a sentence but differing from it in size - a sort of supersentence. A text is best thought of not as a grammatical unit at all, but rather as a unit of a different kind: a semantic unit. The unity that it has is a unity of meaning in context, a texture that expresses the fact that it relates as a whole to the environment in which it is placed. (Halliday and Hasan (1976:293); see similarly Schmidt and Harnisch (1972:68f))

Within the framework of his writings on systemic functional grammar Halliday writes with reference to the textual component:

. . . language has to provide for making links with itself and with features of the situation in which it is used. We may call this the textual function, since this is what enables the speaker or writer to construct "texts", or connected passages of discourse that is situationally relevant; and enables the listener or reader to distinguish a text from a random set of sentences. (Halliday (1970a: 143); see also Halliday (1977:181f); (1978:133f); Firth (1957b:26); Fowler et al (1979:213))

In this section we consider various textual features of the two sets of school books which can be related to their status as "ideological texts", in the wide sense in which we are using this term. In particular we illustrate some areas where these features appear to differ in line with the two differing ideologies.

Since the particular register of German being dealt with has as its target-group children and adolescents, it may be predicted that the syntax involved will be less complex than that in texts intended for adults, and also that there will be differences in the syntactic complexity of texts aimed at pupils of different ages and abilities. The GDR texts are graded for age, but are used across the entire ability range, whilst the FRG texts are intended for use throughout the Mittelstufe, but are written for different types of schools for pupils with differing abilities. Gesellschaft und Politik, however, consists mainly of extracts of adult language juxtaposed in various ways, with relatively little author-comment written expressly for a juvenile readership. We do not intend to attempt to differentiate between the style and complexity of the texts intended for these various groups of readers, but regard the two sets of books simply as examples of a superordinate register "pedagogic text".

For the analyses in this section we took extracts from each set of texts totalling approximately 1 750 words each; these were from TP, p 127-9; G&P, p 182, 205-6; GDR 7/65, 8/29, 36, 55; 9/42-3; 10/98-9. These texts deal with the economic systems of socialism and capitalism, the position of women in society, and profit-sharing in FRG industry. We were able to compare the treatment of similar topics in the two sets of texts, and attempted to relate our findings to the respective ideological systems in which the texts originated. The features investigated included sentence-length and clause-type, cohesion, causality and word-order.

7.1 Sentence length and clause type

Although Halliday and Hasan (1976:29) classify paratactic and hypotactic relations as part of the logical aspect of the ideational component of language, we found it convenient to deal with clause type under the heading of theme, since it is closely related to the issue of cohesion in general.

It was found that sentences in the FRG texts investigated were shorter, containing on average 18.5 words, whilst those in the GDR texts contained on average 20.5 words. Two sentences in the GDR texts were very long (text 2, sentence 15, and text 3, sentence 12; these are discussed in more detail below). These sentences contain examples of what Fowler (1980:21) terms "overlexicalisation"; we have discussed this feature above as being typical of operative texts.

Whilst the GDR sentences were longer, their average number of clauses was lower, being 1.6 - varying between 1.5 and 2.2 - compared with 2.0 (1.5-2.3) for the FRG. Thus the GDR sentences appear to be syntactically less complex; although one sentence from a GDR text contained 11 clauses, 8 of these were fulfilling parallel functions (infinitives with zu acting as complement), so the actual structure was not especially complex. The GDR texts contained a total of 51 sentences consisting of one clause only, the FRG texts a total of 36. Since the GDR texts were especially written for juvenile readers, it is not surprising that they should be syntactically simpler, as appears from this small sample to be the case; this clearly facilitates comprehension and possibly ensures that more material can be

dealt with in a shorter time. While syntactic simplicity must not be confused with superficiality of content, it must be borne in mind that Reiß lists simple syntactic structure as a feature of operative texts.

Attention must be paid not only to the number of clauses per sentence, but also to the type of clauses involved. On the topic of connecting clauses Huddleston et al write as follows:

The most neutral way in which two facts can be presented is to give them in two separate simple sentences. The possible relations between the two facts will be curtailed somewhat if they are coordinated in a single complex, and curtailed still further if one clause is subordinated to the other. If one is embedded in the other, the relation between the two facts has probably been given quite explicitly.
(Huddleston et al (1968:647))

Whilst there was no significant difference in the frequency of the various types of subordinate clause in the two sets of texts in our sample, the two most common types in each case being relative clause and reported speech, there were more than twice as many occurrences of co-ordinated clauses in the FRG texts as in the GDR texts: 26 compared with 11. Uhlig (1972:184) writes that speakers in the Bundestag tend to employ more paratactic constructions when making rational and testable statements,

"während die hypotaktische Sprechweise mit der ideologischen Bewertung und Einordnung und damit der Interpretation dieser Fakten in der Regel zunehmend korrespondiert".

Clearly it is not possible to conclude that because a text contains many hypotactic clauses it must therefore also contain ideological value-judgements; however, although Uhlig's findings are based on the spoken language of adults and thus not immediately applicable to the written language of school textbooks, it is nonetheless interesting that texts that we have found to be of the operative type contain this particular operative feature.

The extracts of GDR text contained strikingly few sentence adjuncts, which Huddleston et al define as explicating the relations which obtain between the clauses containing them and some previous clause (Huddleston et al (1968:647)). We discuss conjunction in more detail below.

The relatively frequent occurrence of single-clause sentences and of co-ordinating clause-complexes is clearly a result of the pedagogic

nature of the texts. As Nestler points out in this regard, as part of a critique of the level of complexity in some GDR school textbooks:

Der Text wird dann unübersichtlicher, wenn sich Nebensätze häufen . . . Damit erschweren sie einerseits den Überblick über den Gesamtsatz, andererseits sind in der Sprachentwicklung der Schüler lokale, temporale und einfache kausale Wenn-Dann-Beziehungen früher und häufiger vorhanden. (Nestler (1975:20))

Nestler also discusses sentence-length and complexity of terminology as features contributing to the difficulty of some pedagogic texts (Nestler (1975:25)); whilst we have briefly mentioned sentence-length above, we do not deal with the issue of terminological complexity, as it is not immediately relevant to our discussion of the interaction of language and ideology.

It appears after this preliminary investigation that the syntax of the GDR texts is less complex than that of the FRG texts, in that the former contains more single-clause sentences. However, the small number of subordinate clauses in both sets of texts suggests that all the authors are consciously attempting to ensure that the syntax is comprehensible to young readers. By contrast, the lack of sentence adjuncts in the GDR texts, which act as indicators of causality and reasoning, suggests that the readers of those texts may simply be presented with a series of statements and arguments which they are not able to analyse or reconstruct for themselves. We return to this issue later in this section, and in the section below on Testability.

7.1.1 Typographical features

The GDR texts are printed mainly in black, with chapter-headings and major subheadings in heavier black print, some minor subheadings in red and others in black italics. Questions and tasks are printed in italics, as are items providing structure within the text (erstens, zweitens etc) (1).

The "information and materials" sections of Gesellschaft und Politik are printed in black, with structuring numerals (M1, M2 etc) in blue; questions and tasks are printed in blue, headings and subheadings in heavy black print. The edges of the pages of Thema Politik are colour-coded to indicate the subject-matter of each chapter, and to differen-

tiate between the main text and the reference section. The text is printed in black, with quotations from external sources in italics; important terms in the main part of the text are also printed in italics (Bundeskartellamt, Mitbestimmung der Arbeitnehmer etc). Quotations from other sources which are not integrated into the text but serve mainly to illustrate prevailing opinions or to provide definitions are printed on a coloured background. Questions and tasks are not differentiated typographically from the rest of the text, but are prefixed by large coloured numbers.

Source details of quotations and statistics in the FRG texts are provided either on the same page (Gesellschaft und Politik), or in a bibliography at the end of the book (Thema Politik). Precise references are given in the GDR texts for quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Party documents, international treaties and Neues Deutschland reports; sources for statistics are frequently not given (2).

It is clear that both sets of texts employ fundamentally the same devices in the structuring of the information presented; this is a feature of their belonging to the same Textsorte "pedagogic text" and is in itself unremarkable. What is significant, resulting from the differing nature of the texts on the level of type, is the kind of terms and information that are foregrounded. We have already mentioned the use of features such as dark print to make clear the structure and progression of an extract of text; closely related to this is the emphasising of key terms within a text, the intention being that the readers will check elsewhere on the precise meaning of the terms. This is done in both FRG and GDR books, although it is relatively rare in G&P. We list some examples below:

Produktion, Information, Rückkopplungsprinzip, Elektronenrechner, programmieren, Mechanisierung, Rationalisierung, Automaten, Transferstraßen (G&P, p 192); (italic print)

wirtschaftlich handeln, arbeitsteilige Produktion, Tausch der Güter, Bildung von Eigentum und Kapital, mehr Güter und bessere Güter, bestimmte Berufe, Tauschmittel: das Geld, Eigentümer (TP, p 123); (italic print)

Delegiertenkonferenz, Mitgliederversammlung, Grundorganisationen, Parteigruppen (8/23-4); (red print)

Whilst these terms could be designated "evaluative" in that they may be regarded as positive or negative by a subscriber to each particular ideology, their function in the text as it stands is not to present

or prescribe a particular evaluation or attitude to be adopted, but rather to emphasise what are commonly perceived as the main features of a process or system. This is true of both FRG and GDR texts. By contrast, the GDR texts emphasise not only key terms but also key sentences, which normally contain a definition or a summary, and which are clearly both evaluative and prescriptive:

- 1 Weil die Ausbeutung für immer beseitigt ist, arbeiten die Werktätigen planmäßig und kameradschaftlich zusammen. (7/65)
- 2 Der Widerspruch zwischen dem gesellschaftlichen Charakter der Produktion und der privatkapitalistischen Aneignung ist der Grundwiderspruch des Kapitalismus. (9/28)
- 3 Die geistige Manipulierung soll die Entwicklung des Klassenbewußtseins der Arbeiterklasse behindern, die Volksmassen in Unwissenheit halten und damit helfen, den gesellschaftlichen Fortschritt aufzuhalten. (10/52) (all in heavy black print)

The reader is expected to internalise and reproduce both the informational and the evaluative components of such sentences, which frequently contain at least part of the answer to questions and tasks subsequently set (see section 5 above). This feature is not found in the FRG texts, and is clearly attributable to the operative nature of the GDR texts.

In the example below repetition of the (müssen) + (passive infinitive) construction, and the typographical arrangement into very short paragraphs illustrate the use of listing in the GDR texts to make clear the main points in an argument; this device may be defensible on pedagogic grounds, and is indicative of the ideological standpoint of the authors, in that issues are depicted as clearly definable and to be dealt with in one particular and unambiguous way:

- 4 Die vielfältigen, ständig wachsenden und sich verändernden Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen und der ganzen Gesellschaft müssen erfaßt werden, weil sie Ausgangspunkt der sozialistischen Planung sind.
Die gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen . . . müssen geschaffen werden, um die wachsenden Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen zu befriedigen.
Es muß gewährleistet werden, daß sich sowohl die Wirtschaft als auch alle anderen gesellschaftlichen Bereiche planmäßig und proportional entwickeln . . . (10/98) (3)

7.2 Cohesion

Halliday and Hasan write on cohesion as follows:

Cohesion occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one PRESUPPOSES the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text . . . The actualisation of cohesion in any given instance, however, depends not merely on the selection of some option from within these resources (reference, ellipsis etc), but also on the presence of some other element which resolves the presupposition that this sets up. (Halliday and Hasan (1976:4, 5); see also S J Schmidt (1973:29-30) for a list of cohesive devices compiled by Wunderlich and Isenberg; Nye, in Dreßler (1978b:15f) for a case-study in cohesion)

In this section we investigate ways in which the cohesion patterns of the two sets of texts differ, and attempt to relate this to their nature as texts serving a particular ideology.

In our sample of texts we discovered the following general points with regard to cohesion:

1) In the FRG texts the most common way of linking two sentences was by reference, ie a pronoun with the same referent as a noun or pronoun in the previous sentence; this accounted for 33% of all explicit cohesive elements. The second most common means was by an adverbial phrase, which accounted for 28.5% of occurrences. Other features included repetition, substitution and paraphrase, textual definition and recapitulation.

2) In the GDR texts the most common means of cohesion was verbatim repetition, which accounted for 33% of occurrences; this was followed by reference (18.8%), substitution and paraphrase (17.4%), and then recapitulation, adverbs and textual definition. There was a number of cases where there was no obvious connection between sentences other than what might be termed "conceptual". (Terminology here is adopted from Halliday and Hasan (1976)).

We then looked more closely at the six extracts of text reproduced in the appendix, and investigated the types of cohesive ties between sentences (see Halliday and Hasan (1976:3, 4)). We deal mainly with

inter-sentential cohesion, with occasional reference to the intrasentential level since

In the description of a text, it is the intersentence cohesion that is significant, because that represents the variable aspect of cohesion, distinguishing one text from another. (Halliday and Hasan (1976:9))

7.2.1 Reference

In the case of reference the information to be retrieved is the referential meaning, the identity of the particular thing or class of things that is being referred to; and the cohesion lies in the continuity of reference, whereby the same thing enters into the discourse a second time. In See how they run! "they" means not merely "three blind mice", but "The same three blind mice that we have just been talking about". (Halliday and Hasan (1979:31))

Relatively little of this type of cohesion was found in the GDR texts. We list below those examples that were found:

Text 1: bei uns x 2 referring to the GDR; sie referring to Frauen.

On the intrasentential level: sein, sie, ihre.

Text 2: das Ergebnis der Konkurrenz, diese(r) (Halliday and Hasan (1976:57f) term this "demonstrative reference"); intrasentential: sie/ihr, sein, diejenigen, die, ihre, seine;

Text 3: sie, das x 2, dabei; intrasentential: sie, ihm, die.

In the FRG text reference was more common:

Text 4: das, solche, damit, sie, der, dabei, diese(r) x 3; intrasentential: seine, das, was, er, ihre, sie, ihm, die;

Text 5: hierbei, hier, diese(r) x 8;

Text 6: diesem.

Text 5, sentence 2 contains one example of cataphoric reference (see Halliday and Hasan (1976:56-7)). This is unusual, but simply a pedagogic device.

7.2.2 Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion in its clearest form is provided by two or more occurrences, in close proximity, of the same lexical item; less strongly by the co-occurrence of items paradigmatically related in the sense that they may belong to the same lexical set. (Halliday (1967e:220); see also Halliday and Hasan (1976:274f, 282-4, 288))

This type of cohesion was common in both sets of sample texts, but the GDR texts on the whole tended to form cohesive chains (Halliday and Hasan (1976:15)) more through the use of verbatim or near-verbatim repetition than through the use of synonyms or other types of reiteration (Halliday and Hasan (1976:277-8, 283f)). We list below the cohesive chains found in the sample texts.

Text 1: (numbers in brackets refer to sentences within the texts):

- Chain A: (1) Privateigentum an den Produktionsmitteln beseitigt
 (2) sozialistisches Eigentum an den Produktionsmitteln
 geschaffen;
 (3) CONCEPTUAL LINK ONLY
 (4) sozialistisches Eigentum
 (5) sozialistische Eigentumsverhältnisse
 (6)
 (7) CONCEPTUAL LINK
 (8)

Note: the tie between sentences 1 and 2 above is achieved through "collocation" (Halliday and Hasan (1976:284)); here this takes the form of the use of antithetical terms in the two sentences.

- Chain B: (1) in unserer Republik
 (2)
 (3) in der DDR
 (4) bei uns
 (5) im Sozialismus
 (6) ---
 (7) im Gegensatz zum Kapitalismus, bei uns
 (8) ---
 (9) im Sozialismus
 (10) im Kapitalismus
 (11) in der DDR

- Chain C: (1) die Arbeiterklasse, Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern,
 die anderen werktätigen Schichten;
 (2) ---
 (3) die Werktätigen
 (4) werktätige Kollektive
 (5) die arbeitenden Menschen
 (6) die Werktätigen
 (7) der Arbeiter
 (8) (Recht auf Arbeit?)
 (9) die Arbeiterklasse

- Chain D: (9) die Frau
 (10) die Frau
 (11) die Frauen
 (12) (sie)
 (13) Frauen und Mädchen
 (14) Frauen
 (15) eine Frau
 (16) die Frau, Hausfrau und Mutter
 (17) die Frau, Hausarbeit.

Text 2

- Chain A: (1) die Kapitalisten
(2) kapitalistische Unternehmer
(3) jeder Kapitalist, den anderen Kapitalisten
(4) ---
(5) ---
(6) 1,7% der Bevölkerung
(7) 0,02% der Bevölkerung, 15 000 Personen
(8) Neckermann, Karstadt
(9) private Warenproduzenten
(10) kapitalistische Großunternehmer
(11) ---
(12) ---
(13) die Kapitalisten
(14) ---
(15) der Kapitalismus
(16) die kapitalistische Gesellschaft.
- Chain B: (10) kleine und mittlere Unternehmer, Handwerker, Kleinbauern . . . geben auf
(11) bäuerliche Existenzen bleiben auf der Strecke
(12) Menschen verlieren ihre Existenzgrundlage
(13) die Arbeiterklasse
(14) die Arbeiter
- Chain C: (1) der Konkurrenzkampf
(2) ein Kampf auf Leben und Tod
(3) streben; Vorteil
(4) Konkurrenz, Tod; Sieg und Herrschaft
(5) der Konkurrenzkampf
(6) ---
(7) ---
(8) der Konkurrenzkampf
(9) die Konkurrenz
(10) ---
(11) ---
(12) das Wolfsgesetz der kapitalistischen Konkurrenz
(13) der Konkurrenzkampf
(14) die Konkurrenten
- Chain D: (2) im Interesse höchstmöglicher Profite
(3) im Interesse seines Profits . . .
(9) ökonomische Vorteile . . .
(14) Profite, Vorteile
- Chain E: (5) Konzentration der Produktion und des Kapitals
(6) Eigentums- und Vermögenskonzentration
...
(10) Konzentration der Produktionsmittel.

Text 3

- Chain A: (1) zentrale staatliche Leitung und Planung
(2) (sie)
(3) zentral
...
(7) die andere Seite des demokratischen Zentralismus
(8) ---
(9) keine zentrale Stelle
(10) ---
(11) jedes zentrale wirtschaftsleitende Organ

- Chain B: (7) Kombinate, Betriebe
 (8) jeder Betrieb
 (9) die Betriebe
 (10) die Betriebe
 (11) jeder Betrieb
 (12) Kombinate und Betriebe

FRG texts: Text 4 (3 distinct paragraphs)

- Chain 1A: (1) Unternehmen
 (2) immer größere Unternehmen
 (3) Großunternehmen x 2
- Chain 1B: (4) Produkte
 (5) Produkte
 (6) produzieren
- Chain 1C: (4) Preise
 (5) Preisbildung
- Chain 1D: (2) Gewinnmöglichkeiten
 ...
 (7) Gewinne
- Chain 2A: (8) Werbung
 (9) manipulierende Werbung
 (10) (sie)
- Chain 2B: (8) die Verbraucher
 (9) die Verbraucher
 (10) der Käufer
- Chain 2C: (8) Das Angebot
 (9) das Produkt
 (10) das Gut
 (11) das Produkt
- Chain 2D: (8) informieren
 (9) überreden
 (10) sich Marktübersicht verschaffen
 (11) die Marktübersicht
- Chain 3A: (13) die Zentralverwaltungswirtschaft
 (14) staatliche Stellen
 (15) von oben
- Chain 3B: (14) Wirtschaftspläne
 (15) Pläne
 (16) der Plan
 (17) Wirtschaftspläne, Pläne
 (18) ---
 (19) die Planung
 (20) der Plan

Text 5: 3 sections, one instance of inter-section cohesion

- Chain 1A: (1) Vermögensumverteilung
 (2) vermögenswirksam
 (3) Einkommensverteilung

 (11) vermögenswirksam

Chains 1B and 1C:

- (1) Investiv lohn
- (2) anlegen Einkommen
- (3) Einkommensverteilung
- (4) Lohnpolitik
- (5) Lohnzuwachs
- (6) Investitionen
- (7) Neuinvestitionen
- (8) Investiv lohn
- (9) anlegen Barlohn
- (10) die Investitionen

- Chain 1D: (3) Arbeitnehmer
- (4) die Gewerkschaften
-
- (11) die Gewerkschaft, IG Bau-Stein-Erden, Arbeitnehmer

- Chain 1E: (4) die Arbeitgeberseite
-
- (7) die Unternehmer
-
- (9) die Unternehmer
- (10) die Unternehmen

- Chain 2A: (12) Beteiligung
- (13) Jahresprämie, Belegschaftsaktien
-
- (15) Beteiligungsrechte
- (16) Beteiligung
- (17) (Geldsumme)

- Chain 2B: (14) der Arbeitnehmer
- (15) der Arbeitsplatz
-
- (17) der Arbeitnehmer

- Chain 2C: (14) der Betrieb
- (15) der Betrieb
- (16) der Betrieb

- Chain 2-3D:
- (14) die Ertragslage
-
- (16) die Gewinnsituation
-
- (21) die Ertragslage

- Chain 3A: (19) die Unternehmungen
- (20) die Unternehmer
- (21) der Betrieb

- Chain 3B: (19) der Fonds
- (20) der Fonds
- (21) das Fondsvermögen

Text 6

- Chain A: (1) Vermögensverteilung
- (2) Vermögensbildung
-
- (4) Vermögen
- (5) Verteilung des Sozialprodukts
- (6) (Ziel)
- (7) Vermögensstreuung, Vermögensbildung

- Chain B: (2) beteiligen
 (3) Beteiligung
 (4) Beteiligung
- Chain C: (3) Arbeitnehmer
 (4) Arbeitnehmer

 (7) Arbeitnehmer, untere und mittlere Einkommensgruppen.

We have indicated in the tables above several instances where the lexical cohesion "jumps over" one or more sentences; this is shown by three dashes. It is not unusual, and is common to almost all texts (see Halliday and Hasan (1976:16)).

The cohesive chains in the GDR texts are longer, in the sense that they extend over a greater number of sentences, and the lexical items occur more frequently; there are also fewer "gaps" in the chains. The FRG texts are typically shorter, and the lexis in each chain appears more varied, the concept being presented from more than one point of view, eg text 4, chain 2C, 3A.

The relative lack of lexical variety in the GDR texts, combined with the rare occurrence of cohesion through reference mentioned above means that there is a greater degree of lexical repetition in the GDR texts. Whilst not wishing to lay too great weight on this point, since in many cases pronominalisation is impossible because of the way a text is constructed, it is noteworthy that repetition is one of the features listed by Reiß as typical of operative texts.

Repetition of structures, as in the following FRG extract, can frequently be attributed to the pedagogic nature of the text: here an explicit parallel is being drawn between the situations of the employers and the employees and the dependence of both on the law of supply and demand:

- 5 Für den einzelnen Unternehmer bedeutet das: hat er in eine Produktion investiert, für die keine Nachfrage besteht, dann erzielt er wenig oder keinen Gewinn. Hat jemand einen Beruf, für den kein Bedarf besteht, so wird er nur wenig oder gar keinen Lohn erhalten. (TP, p 127)

The accuracy of the picture thus drawn may be open to question, ie are the situations really so alike, is the process quite so simple? We have indicated above the use of contrasting terminology in this extract reflecting the differing social values placed on terms such as erzielen and erhalten, investieren and haben, and the consequent

different T-roles of the participants. This difference is not apparent in the repetitive structure of the sentences, which is a rare feature in the FRG texts.

A pedagogic device that is less easily explained occurs in the same section as the example quoted above; it is intended to clarify the meaning of terms, again by drawing parallels between different sections of the economy:

6 Lohn ist der Preis für Arbeit, Gewinn ist der Preis für Kapital. (TP, p 127)

As in example 5 employers and employees are kept clearly separate here, whilst being presented as complementary and comparable groups; this allows both for the transmission of the concept of Partnerschaft and integrated harmony in the economy as a whole, and also for a clear and static division between the component parts of the economy. Whilst example 6 is easily memorised as a catch-phrase, it is questionable as to whether it really clarifies the meaning of the terms Lohn and Gewinn: whilst it is clear that one can receive money in return for labour, the position with receiving money for capital is less straightforward, unless one is actually selling a factory, machinery etc, and the relationship between the two components is less immediate. The authors of TP appear here to be sacrificing clarity and accuracy to catchy phraseology and the desire to draw parallels that are not necessarily justifiable.

Examples of repetition and marked cohesion patterns intended to make a specifically ideological point are more common in the GDR texts, as in the following example, where an ideologically central term, Arbeiterklasse, is repeated instead of being pronominalised:

7 Betrachten wir im folgenden einige Gründe, weshalb die Arbeiterklasse die fortgeschrittenste, die führende Klasse der sozialistischen Gesellschaft ist.
Erstens: die Arbeiterklasse ist am engsten mit dem Volkseigentum und der sozialistischen Produktion in Industrie, Bauwesen und Verkehr verbunden.
Sie ist Träger der sozialistischen Großproduktion. Aus dem besonders engen Verhältnis zum Volkseigentum erklärt sich die Tatsache, daß die Arbeiterklasse besondere Verantwortung dafür trägt, wie das Volkseigentum genutzt und wie die Produktion ständig weiterentwickelt und vervollkommnet wird.
Als sozialistische Eigentümer ist die Arbeiterklasse ständig bemüht, die Rohstoffe und Maschinen, die Verkehrsmittel und Industriegebäude mit größerem Ergebnis zu nutzen, um die Produktion zu steigern und die Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen zu verbessern.

Aus der Stellung der Arbeiterklasse zum Volkseigentum und zur sozialistischen Großproduktion leitet sich ihre Rolle beim bewußten Gestalten der neuen Gesellschaftsordnung ab. Indem sich die Arbeiterklasse unter Führung der SED ihrer Rolle als Schöpfer der sozialistischen Gesellschaft immer besser bewußt wird, wachsen auch ihre Fähigkeiten und Eigenschaften, diesen Prozeß zielstrebig, bewußt und erfolgreich zu führen.

Aus der Stellung und Rolle der Arbeiterklasse in der sozialistischen Großproduktion leiten sich die entscheidenden Führungseigenschaften der Arbeiterklasse ab . . . (8/11) (4)

The thematic pattern of this text is made even more unusual by the typographical arrangement into very short paragraphs consisting sometimes of a single sentence, giving the appearance of a list rather than of a normal text.

This type of marked cohesion through repetition is rare in the FRG texts; whilst it may be the case that the books contain extracts expressing equally strong beliefs and doctrines as the one quoted above (eg on the virtues of parliamentary democracy (G&P, p 94; TP, p 139f), or of profit-sharing in industry (G&P, p 168f; TP, p 83, 132f)), the device of lexical repetition is not often used for emphasis. The following is a rare exception:

8 . . . wollen wir nun dem Wort Liberalismus und dem Wort vom freien Menschen einen neuen Klang zu geben versuchen. Das Wort "frei" ist noch kein Zauberwort. Manche sagen, die Kunst ist "frei"; die Freiheit schaffe ihre Größe. Das ist eine offene Frage, ob die Freiheit der Kunst allein die Kunst "groß" macht . . . Eine wirklich große Leistung ist nur möglich in der Freiheit. Wenn wir von Freiheit reden, so glauben wir an den schöpferischen Menschen . . . (G&P, p 85) (5)

We have drawn attention above to the use in Text 1 of what Halliday and Hasan call collocation; although the referents of the terms used are different, this very difference, amounting in Text 1 to full antithesis in ML terms, causes the cohesion to be maintained. We noted in the section on text-typology the use of antithesis in operative texts. The examples below from the GDR textbooks illustrate further the employment of this device to differentiate between bad and good. In the first quotation the contrast drawn between Großunternehmer and Kleinbauern is clearly intended to be read as bad vs good; the same aim is clear in the second example in the repeated collocation of (positive) Sozialismus with DDR and (negative) Imperialismus with BRD:

9 Die Konzentration der jeweils neuesten Produktionsmittel in den Händen der kapitalistischen Großunternehmer führt dazu,

daß die kleineren und mittleren Unternehmer und besonders die Handwerker und Kleinbauern dem Konkurrenzdruck über die zeitweilig niedrigeren Preise nicht standhalten können und ihre Betriebe aufgeben. (9/42)

- 10 Die DDR kämpft gemeinsam mit den anderen sozialistischen Ländern und mit allen fortschrittlichen Menschen für die Erhaltung des Friedens und für Fortschritt und Völkerverständigung in der ganzen Welt.
Die BRD strebt nach wie vor an der Seite der Imperialisten der USA nach der Beseitigung des Sozialismus in der DDR und in den anderen sozialistischen Ländern. (7/90)

This kind of judgemental juxtaposition is rare in the FRG texts; one example is the following, which could be read as a negative evaluation of central planning by means of the contrast between elementar and bewußt:

- 11 Darin drückt sich die Tatsache aus, daß die sozialistische Wirtschaft sich nicht elementar . . . entwickelt, sondern bewußt durch die Gesellschaft gelenkt und geleitet wird.
(G&P, p 182) (6)

This impression is strengthened by other collocations on the same page: "Freie oder geplante Wirtschaft in der Bundesrepublik?", "Der Aufbau der Gesellschaft wird nun von oben dirigiert und wächst nicht von unten".

7.2.3 Conjunction, including causality

On the topic of conjunction Halliday and Hasan write as follows:

Conjunctive elements are cohesive not in themselves but indirectly, by virtue of their specific meanings; they are not primarily devices for reaching out into the preceding (or following) text, but they express certain meanings which presuppose the presence of other components in the discourse . . . With conjunction . . . we move into a different type of semantic relation, one which is no longer any kind of a search instruction, but a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before. (Halliday and Hasan (1976:226-7))

We investigated the number and types of conjunction employed in the six texts, and discovered that, whilst both FRG and GDR authors use basically the same type of conjunctive devices, they are employed with greater frequency in the FRG texts. We list below the conjunctive devices found in the six texts. Terminology is adopted from Halliday and Hasan (7).

<u>Text</u>	<u>Additive</u>	<u>Adversative</u>	<u>Causal</u>	<u>Temporal</u>
1	zum Beispiel (8)	aber hingegen	damit weil somit	
2	zum Beispiel		im Gefolge um, zu	gleichzeitig
3	zum Beispiel			
4	zudem x 2 außerdem (9) zum Beispiel	aber x 2 nicht, sondern	um, zu wenn, dann dadurch, daß	
5	außerdem zum Beispiel (11) mit anderen Worten	nicht, sondern	weil also (10)	bisher
6	NONE			

It emerges from the table above that the FRG texts contain a greater number of conjunctive devices, particularly additive ones. The exception to this is Text 6 to which we shall return below. This finding confirms that, as mentioned above, the GDR texts in general contain relatively few sentence adjuncts. The interconnections between sentences and the progression of stages in an argument thus appear to be made more explicit in the FRG texts.

With reference to conjunction in pedagogic texts Huddleston et al write:

. . . In the High stratum (scientific periodicals) facts are likely to be presented in isolation, each fact standing independently, connected to its neighbours by a neutral and or by mere proximity. The relations between these facts are left implicit. In the Low stratum (university text books) there is not the same scrupulous regard for neutrality. The author will use devices (but, however, negation etc) to provide contrasts and urge the reader to see relationships and draw conclusions . . .
. . . It is suggested that a further consequence of the different attitudes to the presentation of information described (above) . . . will be the increased use of explicit grammatical connections between clauses in the low stratum . . . (Huddleston et al (1968:646); see also Kress and Hodge (1979:18))

Since school texts are even "lower" than the low stratum dealt with here, one would expect these connections to be even more explicit; clearly the nature of the connection drawn and the degree of explicitness are particularly revealing in the context of the relationship between language and ideology.

It would appear from the above that the GDR texts in the present investigation are written in the style which Huddleston et al call the High Stratum, in that the relations between the sentences are less obvious, and the texts become almost a simple series of disparate statements. Halliday and Hasan (1976:28) write that the sentences in a text must remain in the same order, or the sense of the text will be changed. The relative lack of cohesion through reference, the more frequent use of lexical cohesion which itself shows little lexical variety or great use of paradigmatically related terms (what Trew terms "conservative rewordings" (Trew (1978:53))), means that some of the sentences in the GDR texts are self-standing, and the order of their occurrence within the text could be changed without really affecting the sense of the message. Benes (1968b:268) writes that contextually independent sentences are rare. Clearly the sentences with which we are dealing here are related to the texts in which they occur in terms of subject matter and are in that sense context-bound, but the patterns of cohesion described above mean that in linguistic terms they are context-free.

One of the prime functions of cohesion is that it should signal how the message is to be interpreted (see Halliday and Hasan (1976:11, 13, 299, 303)); there are fewer of these signals in the GDR texts, which is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that these are pedagogic texts used for the initial introduction of new receivers to the conceptual areas involved. The result is that the receivers are unable to recreate the steps in the arguments for themselves, or to question the conclusions drawn, since the process whereby this happens is not made explicit. The reader is forced to accept the text as it stands. Göppner writes in this regard:

Um den Zusammenhang von Ursachenzuschreibung und Verfügung über Sprache noch einmal zu verdeutlichen, sei darauf hingewiesen, daß die Wirklichkeitsauffassung, d.h. die Konstruktion von Wirkungszusammenhängen, von der Art und Weise abhängt, wie die Wirkungseinheiten definiert werden. (Göppner (1978:185))

The lack of explicit causal relations is not necessarily, of course, a feature to be condemned; as Fleischer writes in connection with what he calls the "wachsende Bevorzugung der deduktiven Methode der Gedankenführung in wissenschaftlichen Texten" (Fleischer (1977:81-2)) (12), it encourages the reader to become actively involved in the development of the text and to create for himself the connections

between the various statements. However, it is significant that Fleischer is writing precisely about wissenschaftliche Texte, ie high register texts aimed at an educated, adult readership of - presumably - above-average intelligence. What may be valid in the context of such texts is by no means necessarily also valid for introductory school texts aimed at young readers of all ability ranges from above to below-average. Monaghan makes this point thus:

Scholarly prose is atypical in its aphoristic, relatively independent sentences. Normally, separating one sentence from the others in a text leaves one with not only textual but also ideational and interpersonal comprehension difficulties. (Monaghan (1979:131))

On the relevance of this argument to ideologically coloured texts, Kress and Hodge write as follows:

Reducing the complexity of an argument and limiting the terms which it can contain is a drastic intervention. Showing less means someone else seeing less. And seeing less means thinking less. (Kress and Hodge (1979:22)) (13)

We return to this issue in the section on Testability below.

To return to the FRG texts 4, 5 and 6 under discussion here: the construction of texts 4 and 5 is more obvious and open to scrutiny than is that of the GDR texts, as a result of the more frequent use of conjunctive devices; the receivers of the texts can reconstruct the progression of the ideas within the texts and order them in relation to one another. Whether or not one agrees with the message being communicated, nonetheless the arguments are clearly presented. The exception to this is Text 6, which is more like the GDR texts in that there is little or no conjunction, and very little cohesion through reference. This text is the only one of the three FRG texts examined here which was not written by the authors of the schoolbooks themselves specifically for school-age readers, but is an extract from a text written for adults, specifically trades unions members. It is likely that to a great extent these people will share the same point of view and agree on what is a desirable course of action. The progression of the arguments is less amenable to scrutiny in this text than the other FRG texts, and it is possible to reorder some of the sentences without upsetting syntactic and cohesive relations. It is a text written for a cohesive group of people who are unlikely to - or not expected to - question the text or disagree with it. The similarity in terms of cohesion between this text and the GDR texts suggests that the GDR pupils are likewise expected not to disagree

with the texts, but to accept them as they stand. This is in line with the role of the textbook in the classroom as discussed in an earlier section. The operative nature of the GDR texts which we posited earlier is also further confirmed by the analysis of some of the cohesive ties in the texts.

The types of cohesive patterns discerned above in texts 4 and 5 are reminiscent of those which Werlich describes as being typical of fictional texts:

Da fiktionale Texte situationsabstrakt sind, erfordern sie zur Sicherung des Textverstehens einen weit höheren Grad an linguistischer Kohärenz und Kompletion - der insbesondere durch Rekurrenzen auf mehreren sprachlichen Ebenen etabliert wird - als nicht-fiktionale Texte. In nichtfiktionalen Texten kann beispielsweise die bloße Namensnennung zur Identifikation von Person und Ort genügen, im fiktiven Text dagegen hängt die mögliche Identifikation vom linguistischen Detail der Personen- und Ortsbezeichnung ab. (Werlich (1975:22))

The FRG texts which we are discussing here are, from the point of view of the receivers, similar to fictional texts in the sense that the information being imparted is largely new and belongs to a factual and conceptual universe with which the receivers are for the most part unacquainted. Thus the use of constant and clear cohesive links is clearly a device to enable the pupils to enter into this universe. The situation in the case of the GDR texts is, of course, extremely similar, in that the pupils are also faced with new information and new sets of concepts, and one is forced to ask why there are these clear differences in the patterns of cohesion which we have noted above. One possible explanation may lie with the issue of plurality of views and testability of information, which we discuss in more detail in the next section. The FRG pupils are, as has already been discussed, encouraged to question and criticise the material with which they are confronted, and to adopt a personal stance with regard to it. The fact that cohesive links are made clear within the texts written specifically for the pupils means that a recreation of the steps in the arguments presented and a scrutiny of the conclusions drawn are relatively straightforward. The texts present one universe of reference among many possible ones, which the pupils are invited to examine (14). In the context of the GDR, on the other hand, the school texts are operating within a largely closed universe, the views presented in the textbooks being the only ones which are acceptable to the authorities and not being open to scrutiny and criticism,

except as a preliminary to confirmation and adoption by the pupils. The relative lack of cohesive devices means that this universe remains relatively untestable; in the eyes of the senders (government/authors/teachers) the universe presented is not a fiction in the sense that the receiver has a choice as to whether or not to accept it, and the patterns of cohesion serve to support this view.

The information presented in the FRG texts is not always quite so clear and unambiguous as may be implied in the discussion above; we exemplify this by a consideration of the ambiguous usage of oder in the information section of TP, one example of which is taken from Text 4.

In the section in TP dealing with the theory of the social market economy and the centrally planned economy there is a degree of ambiguity surrounding the use of the conjunction oder: on three occasions within two pages it is unclear as to whether it is to be read as conjunctive or disjunctive, a phenomenon which may be indicative of certain presuppositions on the part of the authors with regard to the topics under discussion:

- 12 Er selbst entscheidet darüber, was er verbrauchen oder wieviel er in welche Produktion investieren will. (TP, p 127)

The processes here are clearly not mutually exclusive, nor does one necessarily entail the other. There is however a clear associative link between the two, and the collocation as it stands here suggests not only that the agent has a free choice as to how to act, but also that everybody (der Einzelne) is the agent of at least one of the processes mentioned. There is no suggestion that anyone may be unable or unwilling to perform either task, and the implication is that many people perform both.

- 13 Den Wirtschaftsplänen liegen gesellschaftliche oder politische Ziele zugrunde, die mit Hilfe der Pläne verwirklicht werden sollen. Man kann sich als Ziele zum Beispiel vorstellen: Verringerung der Analphabetenzahlen oder Steigerung der Stahl-Produktion . . . In der Zentralverwaltungswirtschaft sollen politische oder gesellschaftliche Programme möglichst schnell erfüllt werden (z B schnelle Entwicklung der chemischen Industrie oder Verbesserung des Wohnungsbestandes). (TP, p 128-9)

This extract merits comment in two regards. Firstly with reference to implicit evaluation and suggestion through exemplification: whilst the illustrative examples given above as aims of state plans would probably be accepted by any economist as being of paramount importance,

they nonetheless give the impression that states with centrally planned economies generally have a low level of literacy, have bad housing and place industrial production on a par with improvements in these sectors. Neither the GDR nor any other state is mentioned by name, but when the pupils learn that this type of economy is found in the GDR it is possible that they will associate the negative features mentioned above with it. Secondly, the use of oder here is interesting likewise, in that it clearly differentiates between the two types of aim but also links them so closely that they could be understood to represent the defining features of an economic plan. The economic plans themselves are presented as an instrument for achieving these aims, but it is not clear whether each plan has a single aim, whether several plans each with discrete aims can exist at one time, or whether gesellschaftlich and politisch are to be read as approximating to antonyms or synonyms. The ambiguity is not resolved in the subsequent sentence, which simply presents examples and repeats the equivocal use of oder. The GDR text which deals in most detail with central planning does not help to clarify this point but states:

- 14 Die vielfältigen, ständig wachsenden und sich verändernden Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen und der ganzen Gesellschaft müssen erfaßt werden, weil sie Ausgangspunkt der sozialistischen Planung sind. (10/98)

It is not clear whether these Bedürfnisse would be classified as gesellschaftlich, politisch or both; it is likely that the two aspects would be regarded as indivisible, in view of the wide range of application of the term politisch, and in view of collocations such as the following where the clearly politically inspired belief in central planning is intimately linked with the term gesellschaftlich, as well as with economic/industrial aims:

- 15 Die gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen (wie Festigung der sozialistischen Ordnung, ein hohes Wachstum der Produktion, die Erhöhung der Arbeitsproduktivität, die sozialistische ökonomische Integration) müssen geschaffen werden, um die wachsenden Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen zu befriedigen. (10/98)

In this section there is, moreover, a degree of odd logic in the description of the relationship of central planning to the state in general. Firstly the text states:

- 16 Die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit der gesamtstaatlichen Leitung und Planung der Wirtschaft ergibt sich
1 aus dem sozialistischen Eigentum an den Produktionsmitteln;
2 aus der gesellschaftlichen Arbeitsteilung, der Spezialisierung, Kooperation und Kombination der Produktion;

3. aus der allseitigen und komplexen Ausnutzung der ökonomischen Gesetze des Sozialismus, besonders aus den Erfordernissen des ökonomischen Grundgesetzes und des Gesetzes der planmäßigen proportionalen Entwicklung. (10/98)

Here a system of central planning is depicted as arising organically out of a set of pre-existent economic conditions; this clearly is an ideological interpretation of historical events, since the process can in fact be seen to be the reverse of this, in that these economic conditions were created specifically in order that the economy might be run centrally in accordance with a particular set of political beliefs. The modal term Notwendigkeit is repeated later in the same passage as follows:

17 Aus der Vielfalt der Notwendigkeiten, Bedürfnisse und Aufgaben und ihres Zusammenwirkens wird sichtbar, daß dafür eine straffe staatliche Leitung und breite Mitarbeit der Werktätigen erforderlich sind. (10/98)

Here the conclusion is drawn for the reader, with no real explanation as to the reasons; it is presented as the logical conclusion of an argument, whereas in fact it virtually repeats the sentence quoted as example 14 above, which is the second sentence in the passage. The sequence of arguments appears to run thus: "X results from Y. We will explain this: Y, therefore X". We have mentioned above the circular nature of some of the arguments presented in these texts and the self-defining nature of some of their systems where the texts appear to be problematising issues but in fact succeed only in providing a paraphrase of what has gone before. In the present example wird sichtbar suggests an obvious relationship between X and Y without explaining it or stating to whom it is apparent; what appears to be analysis and explanation is in fact closer to a prescription than a description.

This again is related to the issue of testability, which may in one way be regarded as the main differentiating feature relating to the two sets of texts under discussion here, and which is dealt with in more detail in the next section.

7.2.4 Ambiguous causality

We have seen earlier in this section that, in the six text extracts being discussed here, there are the same number of causal conjunctions in each set of texts. We discuss the nature of these causal links

and the degree to which they are open to scrutiny in the section on testability below. In this section we present some examples of ambiguous causal constructions resulting from the use of prepositions which can be read in more than one way.

A low frequency of explicatory sentence-adjuncts in itself is not necessarily significant, in that it is possible to represent "texture" and in particular causality by other means. However, it was found in the course of the investigation that a degree of ambiguity and mystification exists in this area similar to that discussed in the field of agency and initiation. By not always making causal relations clear, the texts permit a variety of interpretations, and ambiguity arises that may be a result of difficulty in reconciling observed reality with ideological theory. In this connection Kress and Hodge write:

In understanding any process, causality is of crucial importance. If the causal steps are clearly indicated - those who started an action are specified, the effects are shown and those affected are mentioned - then our judgments can be made on reasonably secure grounds. (Kress and Hodge (1979:18); see also Huddleston et al (1968:577f); Scholwin (1971:321) on false causality in capitalist propaganda; Halliday and Hasan (1976:256f); Fowler et al (1979:154))

We are not here suggesting deliberate distortion of facts by the GDR authors and total clarity and honesty in the part of the FRG authors. Since the FRG ideology is less clearly codified and contains as one of its central tenets the desirability of a plurality of views, then clearly it is less easy to point up "ambiguities" and "contradictions" than is the case with the GDR texts, which are intended to adhere strictly to clearly delineated guidelines. It will in fact be seen below that in some contexts the GDR texts contain a clear and unequivocal depiction of causality and are carefully structured with regard to sentence adjuncts and cohesive devices in general.

A major source of ambiguity in connection with causal relationships is the use of prepositions; ambiguity and implication in this area are particularly common in the GDR texts (15). In the examples below the preposition mit can be read in at least two ways.

- 18 Mit der Bildung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften begann sich die Klasse der werktätigen Einzelbauern zur Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern zu entwickeln. (8/27)

Here the development of the peasants into the co-operative class is presented as beginning independently, and the action is reflexive, ie the peasants combine the roles of initiator, agent and affected entity. This action appears as simultaneous with the formation of the agricultural collectives, but the historical order of events is in fact consecutive, the formation of the collectives being the cause of the change in the consciousness of the peasants. There is, moreover, no agent for the nominalised Bildung: it is not made clear whether this process is reflexive, or effected by some other agent. The same construction is found in the sentences below:

- 19 Mit dem Produktionsprozeß und seinen wachsenden Anforderungen entwickeln (die Arbeiter) sich selbst weiter. (9/45) (16)
- 20 Mit der Vereinigung der gegenseitigen Bauernhilfe entwickelten sich erste Formen der Gemeinschaftsarbeit und des kollektiven Denkens der werktätigen Einzelbauern. (7/51) (17)
- 21 Mit der Schaffung antifaschistisch-demokratischer Staatsorgane, mit der Durchführung der demokratischen Bodenreform, mit der Enteignung der Nazi- und Kriegsverbrecher und der demokratischen Erneuerung der Kultur und Ideologie unter Führung der Arbeiterklasse waren in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone neue Eigentums- und Machtverhältnisse geschaffen worden. (7/33)
- 22 Mit seiner (des Staats) Schaffung grenzte sich die Arbeiterklasse auch staatlich vom Monopolkapitalismus ab, von dem sie früher ausgebeutet und unterdrückt worden war. (7/33)

This ambiguity in the use of mit as to whether it is to be read as temporal, causal or instrumental is not confined to the GDR school books; the following example was found in a dictionary of ML terminology intended for adults:

- 23 Mit dem wissenschaftlich-technischen Fortschritt entwickelt sich die Arbeiterklasse nicht nur quantitativ, sondern vor allem qualitativ weiter. (WB:ML Soz:34)

In the sentences below there is a similar construction using bei instead of mit: there is a similar ambiguity as to whether the action is initiated totally spontaneously, or as a result of some preceding activity:

- 24 Bei der Lösung dieser erstrangigen ökonomischen und politischen Aufgaben wächst die Arbeiterklasse als führende Kraft unserer Gesellschaft selbst und mit ihr wachsen auch die anderen Werktätigen. (10/97)
- 25 Bei der Existenz des gesamtgesellschaftlichen Volkseigentums im Sozialismus sind Betriebsgrenzen objektiv kein Hindernis,

volkswirtschaftliche Lösungen und Entscheidungen im Interesse der gesamten Gesellschaft zu finden bzw. zu treffen. Das ist ein wesentlicher Vorzug des Sozialismus. (10/99)

26 Bei der weiteren Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft festigt sich das Bündnis zwischen der Arbeiterklasse und der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern. (10/129)

27 Bei der Lösung dieser Aufgaben verändert sich Schritt für Schritt das soziale und das geistig-kulturelle Profil der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern. (10/129)

In these examples bei appears to relate to a context in space or time, and the causal relationship which actually obtains is fudged. In the second example Sozialismus has become concrete enough to be used as a place adjunct, rather than being simply a particular set of political beliefs. In the second sentence in this example the approval given to the previous statement and the precise referent of das are not explained: the reader is simply presented with an unfounded evaluation.

The sentences below contain apparent place adjuncts in in, but again there is reason to interpret the relationship as causal rather than spatial:

28 In der Produktionstätigkeit entwickelt sich das Klassenbewußtsein der Arbeiter und der anderen Werktätigen am unmittelbarsten. (10/64)

29 Im sozialistischen Wettbewerb entfalten die Werktätigen immer neue Initiativen, um die Beschlüsse der Partei durchzusetzen und die sozialistische Intensivierung zu fördern. (10/103)

30 Das weitere qualitative Wachstum der Arbeiterklasse vollzieht sich ganz besonders im sozialistischen Wettbewerb. (10/125)

The use of durch in the sentences below clearly indicates a causal relationship, but this could be read as agentive or instrumental:

31 Durch die gemeinsame Arbeit, durch die immer engere Verbindung der Wissenschaft mit der Produktion festigen sich ihre (der Intelligenz) Verbindungen zur Arbeiterklasse. (8/28)

32 Die Arbeiterklasse wird durch die kapitalistischen Produktionsverhältnisse selbst hervorgebracht und entwickelt sich ständig mit der kapitalistischen Großindustrie. (9/46)

33 Durch die wirtschaftliche Rechnungsführung werden . . . das Interesse der Arbeiter, der Kollektive und der Betriebe zu geringstmöglichem Aufwand stimuliert. (10/106)

The overall effect of constructions such as those illustrated above is to present a closer and more immediate relationship between the parts of the sentence than may necessarily obtain, and to allow a wider range of interpretations to be placed on the sentence, with the result that it satisfies both the demand for ideological conformity and historical accuracy.

7.2.5 Logic

Often a lack of obvious logic is fairly innocuous, as in the sentence below:

34 Da sich die ganze Art und Weise zu arbeiten, zu leben und zu denken änderte, benötigten die Genossenschaftsbauern ein höheres fachliches und kulturelles Wissen. (7/55)

Here the changes are made responsible for the need for more education - a step in the argument has been missed out, since the writers take it for granted that their readers will understand changes in these areas to be positive and to present a challenge to which the workers and peasants will be glad to respond, but for which they lack the educational grounding. Moreover, more culture and education are tacitly equated with better - the readers are not expected to question this, since they have been taught to believe that socialism means more of everything good for all workers, and consequently more education in socialism must be good.(18).

The sentence quoted below is more problematic: the causal relationship depicted here applies only within the framework of ML ideology. The doctrine that there is no exploitation in socialist society might and would be contested by subscribers to other ideologies with the counter-argument that the standard of living of workers in socialist states is lower than that in capitalist states in the "free" world and that nominal ownership of the means of production does not give workers in socialism any more, if as much, actual control over their working environment and the state than the workers have in capitalism. Thus the presuppositions in the weil clause render the sentence untestable in any but an ML context, since its truth conditions are not universally applicable:

35 Dieses Bündnis ist möglich, weil im Sozialismus die Ausbeutung des Menschen durch den Menschen für immer beseitigt ist und alle Werktätigen gemeinsam am sozialistischen Aufbau und an der Sicherung des Friedens arbeiten. (7/73)

The sentence below forms a paragraph by itself, and is thus clearly considered to be important.

- 36 Die Existenz des Kapitalismus kostet die Menschheit täglich ungeheuere Opfer an Menschenleben und an materiellen und kulturellen Werten. (9/43)

This sentence contains a simplification of the facts in that, again a step in the causal chain is left out: it is not the existence of capitalism, but what capitalism does during its existence that affects others. It may be that this omission is intentional, and that the text intends to say that capitalists do not need to do anything actively, that their very existence is sufficient to make others suffer. It is the wish of the authorities that the pupils should believe this, and here they are using the presentation of a truncated and emotively coloured argument, which is not problematised or open to question in any way, to achieve their ends.

We have mentioned above several times the prescriptive and almost catechistic nature of much of the language of the GDR texts; the presentation of a particular set of causal relations is obviously of central importance in ensuring the satisfactory transmission to the younger generation of the prevailing ideology. The examples below appear on the surface to be presenting a series of facts, but actually contain untestable opinions based on ideological beliefs that cannot be measured against reality, but which map back on to a particular philosophy rather than on to objective facts.

- 37 Je umfangreicher die Produktion, je größer die Maßstäbe in der Forschung und in der Wirtschaft werden, je tiefer die internationale sozialistische Zusammenarbeit wird, um so notwendiger ist es, Schlüsselfragen der gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung zentral zu lösen. (10/99)

The logic of the conclusion drawn here is obvious only to someone who already subscribes to the ideology containing this belief; the issue is not really problematised and the pupils are expected to accept it and learn it as it stands.

- 38 In unserer Republik wurde auf der Grundlage der Macht der Arbeiterklasse im Bündnis mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern und den anderen werktätigen Schichten das Privateigentum an Produktionsmitteln und damit auch die Ausbeutung beseitigt. (7/65)

Here the agent of beseitigen is deleted and the precise status of the working class is not made clear; the sentence suggests that it played

a major part in removing exploitation and thus exercising power, but this is not explicitly stated and the whole area of agency, initiation and causality remains obscure. Lyons in his discussion of analytic and synthetic implication states that "implication . . . is in principle objectively testable" (Lyons (1968:446)). We would, however, dispute whether this is the case here, since the imprecise nature of the phrase "auf der Grundlage der Macht der Arbeiterklasse", together with the deletion of the agent, renders the causal relationships less amenable to scrutiny than Lyons states to be the case.

7.3 Word-order

Benes cites the following as being reflected in word-order:

. . . Die denkbestimmte ("logische") Verarbeitung der außersprachlichen Realität, der thematische Aufbau des Kommunikats, der psychologische Prozeß im Sprechakt, die Signalisierung der Sprecherintention, die Ausrichtung auf den kommunikativen Effekt, die Einbettung einer Äußerung in einen bestimmten Kontext und in eine aktuelle Situation. (Benes (1971:163)) (19)

Fowler disputes whether word-order has any significance on the semantic or truth-value level, and relegates it to the apparently inferior level of style (Fowler (1974:93-4); for a slightly earlier discussion of this issue see Fowler (1972) where he considers stylistic variation in a Chomskyan framework). Whilst not necessarily disagreeing with Fowler's comments with reference to semantics, we would wish to ascribe a greater degree of importance to "style". Fowler himself admits in 1974 that "there are linguistically interesting differences to be pointed out among the members of the paraphrase sets" (Fowler (1974:94)), and by 1979 he has sufficiently altered his viewpoint to collaborate with Hodge, Kress and Trew in a work which proclaims that changes in word-order as a consequence of transformations have the result that

. . . our attention and the sequence in which we decode are here being directed, manipulated, in complex ways; and any analysis of discourse needs to be responsive to these processes. (Fowler et al (1979:210); for a discussion of the effects of varying the order of words in an utterance, see Carpenter (1969))

We have drawn attention to word-order in many of the sections above as a concomitant to our discussions of, among other features, agency

and initiation; word-order clearly has a contribution to make in these and other areas (see Fowler et al (1979:212-3)). We do not intend to duplicate our discussion here, but wish to make clear that the brevity of this section does not indicate a corresponding insignificance in the role played by word-order in (ideological) language.

One particular aspect of word order which we investigated was that of sentence-initial items. Benes writes as follows on this issue:

Die Häufigkeit der nichtsubjektischen Satzanfänge ist . . . als wichtiges Stilmerkmal aufzufassen; sie hängt nicht nur von der zeitlich bedingten Stilnorm und von dem individuellen Stilwollen und Stilideal ab, sondern auch von dem Charakter der Textsorten.

Der Anteil der nichtsubjektischen Satzanfänge wird normalerweise in den geschriebenen Fachtexten höher sein als in der gesprochenen Alltagsrede. (Benes (1971:177); see also Halliday (1967c:211-223); Kirkwood (1970a) and work carried out by the Prague School on Functional Sentence Perspective)

Of the sentences in the six extracts of text being investigated in this section, we discovered that a greater percentage of sentences in the FRG texts had the M-subject as their initial item than was the case in the GDR texts: 27 of the FRG sentences (approximately 59%), as opposed to 21 (48%) of the GDR sentences began with the M-subject. The next-largest category of sentence-initial items in the FRG texts was sentence-adjuncts, such as außerdem, which accounted for roughly 11% of sentences. In the GDR texts the second biggest category was that of prepositional phrase, such as in der DDR, which accounted for some 32% of occurrences. These figures, whilst based on a very small sample, suggest that the GDR texts are less like everyday speech than are the FRG texts, and are thus less likely to be immediately accessible to juvenile readers; this reinforces our findings discussed above with reference to cohesion (20).

An investigation of the patterns of theme and rheme in these extracts did not reveal any important differences between the two sets of texts; in both cases the overwhelming majority of sentences had an initial theme, the unmarked option in FSP.

Whilst marked word-order for the sake of emphasis does occur occasionally in both sets of textbooks, it is unusual and clearly not normally considered appropriate in a pedagogic text aimed at a juvenile readership. Where it does occur it is normally intended to make clear the structure of the text and the progression of an argument, as in the

following example, where the structure of the second sentence with the subject in sentence-final position emphasises the contrast with the first sentence (see Kirkwood (1970b:112) on "topic-shift"):

- 39 Nur jede Fünfte von den ledigen Frauen will bis zur Pensionierung selbst Verdiennerin sein. Nahezu entgegengesetzt reagieren die verwitweten und die geschiedenen Frauen. (G&P, p 206)

No author-comment or evaluation is implied here. The same is true of the example below, where the marked word-order allows the sentence to end on the final item of the list of important features which contain more new information ("communicative dynamism" (see Kirkwood (1970b: 103)) (21) than does the verb which, in an unmarked sentence, would occur in the informationally prominent sentence-final position (see Benes (1971:164f)).

- 40 Die Planung ist ein komplizierter Prozeß. Dabei müssen berücksichtigt werden die Bedürfnisse der Gesellschaftsmitglieder, die Ziele des Plans, die technischen Möglichkeiten der Volkswirtschaft und die zur Verfügung stehenden Produktionsfaktoren. (TP, p 128)

The following are examples of the same feature taken from the GDR texts; in each case the foregrounding of the sentence-initial items allows the main emphasis to fall on the rheme in the latter part of the sentence (see Benes (1962:6) for a discussion of the Basis of the sentence):

- 41 Eingeleitet wurde diese Veränderung im Jahre 1917 mit der großen Sozialistischen Oktoberrevolution in Rußland. (7/89)

The structure of this example allows for two areas to be emphasised, the agency of the Russian revolution, and the innovatory nature of what it did. In an unmarked construction the second of these areas would be lost. The following example is similar:

- 42 Wehrpflichtig sind alle wehrfähigen männlichen Bürger vom 18. bis 50. Lebensjahr. (8/104)

In the examples below the sentence-initial item is an adverb; in fact, sentence 43 contains two examples of this construction with pünktlich and diszipliniert. This type of marked sentence structure allows elements to be stressed that might otherwise be lost, and also reflects the degree of importance that the writers of these sentences attach to their content. If these sentences had been written in normal unmarked word-order the connotations of heroic and dynamic activity on the part of the workers would have been lost:

- 43 Pünktlich muß er die Arbeit beginnen und diszipliniert in Verbindung mit seinen Arbeitskollegen den Bewegungen,

Anforderungen und dem Arbeitsrhythmus der Maschinen folgen.
(9/49)

- 44 Alljährlich werden unter aktiver Teilnahme von Millionen gewerkschaftlich organisierten Werktätigen die Pläne der Betriebe und Einrichtungen ausgearbeitet. (8/88)

The sentence preceding the example below contains the phrase "Politik der friedlichen Koexistenz" which is repeated in the sentence quoted with the modifier "erfolgreich":

- 45 Ausdruck für die erfolgreiche Politik der friedlichen Koexistenz sind die seit 1970 abgeschlossenen Verträge: der Vertrag der UdSSR mit der BRD, das Vierseitige Abkommen über Westberlin und die Verträge der DDR, der VR Polen und der CSSR mit der BRD. (8/56)

This near-verbatim repetition instead of the use of some kind of anaphora is another example of the feature discussed above, whereby ideologically important terms are often repeated in full and not pronominalised or otherwise "reduced". It is also interesting that the treaties are said to be those of the Warsaw Pact states with the FRG; in the FRG texts the order of precedence and of implied agency are reversed: G&P discusses der "Moskauer Vertrag", der deutsch-polnische Vertrag, and der "Grundlagenvertrag" zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (p 119-21); TP deals with der deutsch-sowjetische Vertrag and das deutsch-polnische Abkommen, and der "Vertrag über die Grundlagen der Beziehungen zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (p 163).

The following is a rare example from an FRG text of repetition instead of reference: the noun is repeated for the sake of emphasis, but unlike in the GDR example the use of an anaphoric demonstrative adjective ensures that the cohesion pattern is less marked:

- 46 Was bleibt, ist ein dumpfes Unwohlsein und Unzufriedenheit über ihr Schicksal. Dieses Schicksal ändert sich auch dadurch nicht, daß immer mehr Frauen und Mädchen arbeiten und im Beruf stehen . . . (G&P, p 205)

An alternative device for foregrounding terms with a high degree of information content is the use of sentence-initial es. Kirkwood describes the effect of this as follows:

(Es) acts as a formal introduction to the utterance, occupying initial position and allowing the grammatical subject to move into a position following the finite verb. The finite verb in second position forms the actual basis

of the communication, anticipating the grammatical subject which is normally a non-definite noun with high communicative value. (Kirkwood (1969:104); see also Benes (1962:8); (1971:166))

This feature occurs frequently in both sets of texts and is in itself unremarkable. The FRG example below is interesting primarily for the modality of Gefahr; the sentence-structure simply allows for greater and more unequivocal emphasis to be laid on this:

- 47 Es besteht dann die Gefahr, daß nicht die Bedürfnisse aller Bevölkerungsgruppen berücksichtigt werden. (TP, p 129)

The GDR examples below are similar, in that they contain the particle es as subject; the finite verb remains in second position as the basis of the sentence. In each case the noun phrase preceding the verb forms the theme of the sentence, being based on information provided in earlier sections of the text; in each case however there is a clarification and narrowing of the context provided by the previous sentences, with the result that the theme as well as the rheme contain new items. Thus in the first example below the focus switches from the (negative) capitalist wage-system to (positive) socialist work-practices, and in the second example the focus narrows from the general staatliche Maßnahmen to Bildung und Erziehung:

- 48 Zum sozialistischen Charakter der Arbeit gehört es, daß hervorragende Arbeitsleistungen nicht nur durch leistungsgerechte Vergütung und Prämisierung Anerkennung finden, sondern ebenso durch betriebliche, gesellschaftliche und staatliche Auszeichnungen. (8/94)
- 49 In der DDR dienen alle staatlichen Maßnahmen dem Wohlergehen und dem besseren Leben des ganzen Volkes. Ziel der Bildung und Erziehung ist es, daß alle Menschen noch besser und erfolgreicher am Aufbau des Sozialismus teilnehmen können. (7/89)

The structure of these sentences allows again, like the examples given above, for two areas of emphasis within one sentence, the one being a kind of definition of the other. The use of the singular and the definitional nature of these sentences arise out of the operative nature of the texts as a whole: they serve to suggest the decisiveness and beneficence of the government of the GDR and the endorsement of the government by the authors of the school-books.

Whilst the use of the subject es construction is in itself unremarkable, it can clearly be employed in the service of any ideology to reiterate and reinforce arguments made elsewhere and in other forms;

we have demonstrated how it enables the shifting of emphasis on to ideologically important parts of the sentence and thus aids the structuring of arguments.

7.4 Conclusion

Differences discovered between the patterns of cohesion in the two sets of texts confirm the text-typological distinction between those texts which we drew in an earlier section. This is an example of the way in which language can be employed in the pursuit of ideological aims: the language of the school textbooks conforms to the demands of the respective education systems as dealt with earlier.

Whilst sentence-construction in both sets of texts is relatively simple, in line with the pedagogic nature of the texts, the GDR texts appear to be less amenable to scrutiny and criticism than do the FRG texts, as a result of the type and frequency of cohesive devices employed. The GDR texts contain fewer conjunctions, and fewer sentence-adjuncts which would make clear the progression of their arguments; this, together with the smaller number of sentence-initial subjects, means that the GDR texts differ markedly from everyday speech and resemble high-level scientific texts. This is likely to reduce their accessibility to young readers. The unusual nature of the GDR texts is reinforced by a high degree of lexical repetition, resulting in a relatively large number of context-free sentences, together with the frequent occurrence of single-sentence paragraphs. The FRG texts are more like fictional texts, in that the authors are creating an entire universe with which the readers are to become familiar; accessibility is aided by greater use of reference in cohesion, more lexical variety, and more sentence-adjuncts allowing the reconstruction of arguments. Circular and simplified arguments and unusual, or ambiguous causal relations in the GDR texts mean that the readers are less able to recreate for themselves the various stages of those arguments, but are forced simply to accept them as they stand. We return to this issue in the section below on Testability.

Notes

- 1 On this issue see Feige (1979:31) who writes as follows:
Der Lehrtext . . . unterstützt eine straffe gedankliche Führung im Erfassen der im Unterricht anzueignenden Sachverhalte . . . Durch seine Gestaltung - logische Gliederung des Textes, typographische Hervorhebung wichtiger Begriffe, Erkenntnisse und Verallgemeinerungen - fördert er die Aneignung der Kenntnisse und Erkenntnisse durch den Schüler, regt er die Entwicklung geistiger Fähigkeiten an und unterstützt die Herausbildung sozialistischer Überzeugungen und Verhaltensweisen.
- 2 See for example the following: 8/83 where precise references are given to Neues Deutschland with regard to reports about strikes in capitalist states; 9/70, where the following statistics are given but no source quoted:
In Frankreich beträgt der staatliche Anteil am Kohlebergbau 97%, im Schiff- und Flugzeugbau 38,9%, im Transport- und Fernmeldewesen 63,5%.
10/24, where no source is quoted for the following figures:
. . . So wurden in den USA im Jahre 1973 alle 82 Sekunden ein Raubüberfall, alle 13 Minuten eine Vergewaltigung und jede halbe Stunde ein Mord oder Totschlag verübt. In der BRD wurden 1975 offiziell 2,55 Millionen Straftaten registriert.
- 3 Gray (1977:17) writes that single-sentence paragraphs in newspapers are a result of the narrow column format and not in themselves remarkable. This may also be true to a certain extent of the GDR schoolbooks, in that each page contains two columns of text; however, not all sentences constitute independent paragraphs, and Gray's subsequent statement is thus more relevant, namely that "when used infrequently, single-sentence paragraphs . . . are a means of emphasis . . ." (ibid)
- 4 See also the following extracts which evidence similar marked cohesion patterns:
Der ML, die wissenschaftliche Weltanschauung der Arbeiterklasse: Das entscheidende geistige Rüstzeug der Arbeiterklasse und zugleich ihr zuverlässiger Kompaß ist der Marxismus-Leninismus, die einzige wissenschaftliche Weltanschauung. Die revolutionäre Vorhut der Arbeiterklasse, ihre Partei, behandelt alle praktischen und theoretischen Fragen der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung und damit ihrer Tätigkeit vom Standpunkt der einheitlichen wissenschaftlichen Weltanschauung dieser Klasse, des Marxismus-Leninismus. Wenn wir verstehen wollen, wodurch sich der Marxismus-Leninismus als wissenschaftliche Weltanschauung der Arbeiterklasse, als Wegweiser im gesellschaftlichen und persönlichen Leben auszeichnet, müssen wir klären, was Weltanschauung ist und welche Rolle sie im Leben der Menschen spielt. (10/146)

Während die Kapitalisten zur Sicherung der kapi-

talistischen Ausbeutung und Erhaltung ihres Systems einheitlich und geschlossen gegen die Arbeiterklasse auftreten, verhalten sie sich im Konkurrenzkampf untereinander wie Wölfe. Im Interesse höchstmöglicher Profite findet zwischen den kapitalistischen Unternehmern ein Kampf auf Leben und Tod statt. Jeder Kapitalist muß im Interesse seines Profits gegenüber den anderen Kapitalisten ständig nach Vorteilen streben . . . (9/42)

Another term central to ML which occurs in a similarly marked way is Kommunismus/kommunistisch - see for example 10/42-3.

- 5 The source of this quotation is Theodor Heuß: Unsere deutsche Mission (1948), quoted in Hereth, p 251f.
- 6 The quotation is from O Lange: Entwicklungstendenzen der modernen Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. No further details are given.
- 7 See Halliday and Hasan (1976:242-3). These pages show a table of conjunctive relations in English, which are discussed in some detail in this chapter. In our tabulation here we keep to the main subdivisions dealt with by Halliday and Hasan, but do not attempt to subclassify the conjunctions; it was felt that this was unnecessary in the present thesis.
- 8 Huddleston et al (1968:547-8) term "for example" and similar terms "exemplifying".
- 9 See also Huddleston et al (1968:594f, 560) on "combination sentence-adjuncts".
- 10 See Huddleston et al (1968:552, 577) on causal and logical sequence sentence-adjuncts.
- 11 The whole of sentence 11 in text 5 can be read as exemplary, in that it is an illustration from real life of the theoretical ideas that have been dealt with so far in the text.
- 12 Woodson (1977) points out similar features in some scientific texts:

Investigations of referential discourse paragraphs revealed that the deep structure of scientific paragraphs is relatively uncomplicated with few assumptions and little elliptical information. The audience is more of a concern in an informative paragraph than in a scientific paragraph, although the emphasis is still away from personal identification of the author and towards anonymity. Sometimes the deep structure of exploratory discussion is complex, sometimes quite simple. The writer makes certain assumptions in the course of exploration that are based on his own previous understandings and depending upon the writer's conception of his audience, these assumptions will or will not be mapped onto the surface. The deep structure of persuasive paragraphs is unusually complex, made up of both elliptical assumptions and information.

The above quotation is from Dissertation Abstracts, vol 39, August 1978.

Whilst the same caveats apply to this as to Fleischer's statement quoted in the body of the text, it appears on Woodson's criteria that the GDR texts are more like scientific than persuasive texts - in this instance the operative nature of the texts has given way to their pedagogic/informative function.

- 13 On the issue of simplification Mountford (1975:182-3) writes:
Simplification implies a more transparent system of lexical cohesion. Anaphoric relationships may be "filled in". This may be linked to a more obvious "theme/rheme", "given/new" patterning of information distribution and focus. Above all, simplification of text implies breaking up propositions into locutions that are of simple sentence-like constructions, in other words by making propositions approximate to kernel structures, the relationships between which may be explicitly marked by sentence connectors and coordinating conjunctions . . .
. . . My feeling is that a point is soon reached beyond which increased redundancy will lead to greater difficulty. (quoted in Roe (1977:12-13))
- 14 On this issue, see Bachem (1979:98) where he writes of the deep structure and surface structure of argumentative texts. See also the extracts from Woodson and Mountford above.
- 15 For discussions of the ambiguous use of prepositions in such constructions, see for example Halliday (1964:22f); Huddleston et al (1968:58f).
- 16 For a discussion of a similar feature in English, see Kirkwood (1970a), esp p 44.
- 17 In this connection see Lyons (1968:297-8) on syncretism; Lyons points out overlaps between the agentive and the instrumental, and the instrumental and the comitative in various languages; our German examples could be added to his list.
- 18 See for example the following extract from the SED party programme:
Größere Anforderungen werden an die ständige berufliche Weiterbildung und die Erwachsenenqualifizierung gestellt. Sie sind vorrangig darauf gerichtet, die Zahl der erwachsenen Bürger zu erhöhen, die über einen Facharbeiter- bzw. Meisterabschluß oder über Abschlußexamen einer Fach- oder Hochschule verfügen. Gleichzeitig wird es erforderlich, dem wachsenden Bedürfnis vieler Bürger, ständig weiterzulernen und sich auf verschiedenen Interessengebieten gründliches Wissen anzueignen, besser Rechnung zu tragen. (Programm der SED, p 68-9)
- 19 In another article Benes suggests that choice of word-order may precede the grammatical-syntactic organisation of the sentence, and thus to a certain extent determine it: see Benes

(1968b), esp p 272. See also Benes (1962); Danes (1964), esp p 233; Kirkwood (1969).

20 Benes writes that "Der Stil der Lehrbücher für Mittel-, Ober- und Hochschulen ist wohl die verbreitetste und ziemlich einheitliche neutrale Durchschnittsform des wissenschaftlichen Stils" (Benes (1969:228)). This statement is not supported by our findings with regard to GDR schoolbooks, and this further confirms our theory that these texts belong to a different text-type from typical non-ML schoolbooks.

21 Kirkwood draws here on Firbas (1959).

8 Testability

The degree to which statements and classifications can be tested against themselves, against other texts and against extralinguistic reality is closely connected with their nature as part of particular text-types. We have stressed throughout our discussion the basically operative nature of the GDR texts and the fundamentally informative nature of the FRG texts, and the degree of testability of the information contained in them confirms this distinction, as will be shown below. We have stated above that to a large extent the GDR texts create their own universe, and that everything which is said pertaining to that universe confirms the original creation (1). The universe of the FRG texts is less harmonious and uniform, allowing for contrast and even conflict of views and beliefs. This fact alone indicates that there is likely to be a greater degree of testability in the FRG texts, in that contrasting statements can be compared and evaluated by the reader.

Testability of statements and statistics is important in the context of the present investigation for the reason that the diverging attitudes to this principle embodied in the two sets of texts may be regarded as a reflection, in microcosm, of the whole ideological superstructure informing both the texts themselves and the systems of society and education which they represent: the socialist education system aims to win the conformity and allegiance of the younger generation by emotive as well as intellectual appeals, and one way of seeking to achieve this is to present a closed and harmonious picture of the world in which one fact follows logically from another if deduced by means of the particular scientific method created to suit that reality. In the section on questions and tasks above we have pointed to the fact that in those cases where the pupils are required to go beyond the immediate context of the school book in order to find the answer to a question all the other printed sources they consult will present the same picture in greater or lesser detail, and will not deviate from the basic ideological message being transmitted in the school book. It will be seen in the present section that the closed nature of the "universe of texts" referred to above is also found within the smaller universe of the school books themselves, in that there are clear limitations on the degree to which statements made in the texts can be measured and tested either against extralin-

guistic reality or simply against contrasting interpretations of that reality. The FRG, on the other hand, whilst still condemning certain opinions as undemocratic (see our comments in an earlier section on the attitude taken towards National Socialism), permits and, indeed, requires a much wider range of opinions and interpretations of data in line with the declared desire to achieve a pluralistic balance of interests. No attempt is made to harmonise statements and texts, and the holding of (moderately) deviating views is regarded as healthy and positive, provided that these are rationally arrived at and sincerely felt; appeals to the emotions are subordinated to rational information. Again, the discussion below reveals that statements and statistics can normally be tested, and the interpretations given can be measured and evaluated against views from different sources.

We have discussed in an earlier section the importance accorded in the FRG to the development in schoolchildren of the ability to question and criticise material with which they are confronted, and to try to discuss the motives and interests of the senders of it. This requirement of constant questioning applies not only to schoolchildren and the texts with which they have to deal, however, but extends beyond this to the population as a whole. Glaser condemns the use of jargon that does not attempt to question its own premisses (Glaser (1971:148)), and Bachem writes in a similar vein as follows:

Was auch immer zur Prämisse geworden ist, dieses grundlegende Alltagswissen und die unproblematisierten Normen, auf die die Argumentation aufgebaut ist, herauszuarbeiten, ist ein schwieriges und zugleich wichtigstes Unterfangen, und für die Verwertung von Äußerungen ganz wesentlich. (Bachem (1979:99); emphasis in original)

The GDR in contrast seeks to present a single, harmonious picture of the world, and expects no questioning of the information provided. Ellul's description of the aims of propaganda in general could be applied to the specific aims of the GDR in this connection:

Through the myth it creates, propaganda imposes a complete range of intuitive knowledge, susceptible of only one interpretation, unique and one-sided, and precluding any divergence. (Ellul (1973:11)) (2)

Edelman writes that this is done to encourage group coherence in the face of an external threat, be this real or imagined, and both he and Ellul give the example of Mao's China as a closed universe which has created its own terms of reference and its own version of reality (3).

Whether or not this fear of external forces is the reason for the GDR's approach to political education, the end result is much the same. We demonstrate in this section the way the differing approaches of the two German states to the whole question of political education is reflected in the degree to which the bases of statements and beliefs are open to scrutiny in the school textbooks, and the extent to which the individual is able to question and test the material presented.

8.1 Naming of sources

A simple prelinguistic method of testing the accuracy of quotations (although not necessarily the accuracy of their contents) is to check them against named sources. The sources most commonly named in the GDR texts are Marx, Engels, Lenin, Neues Deutschland and the SED, with other, particularly statistical information, being presented without reference to its origins, and thus untestable. This is normally not the case in the FRG texts, where the sources of quotations are usually given and where attempts to present the opinions of a particular individual or group as a universal truth by failing to relativise it by means of the provision of a source-reference are rare. This clearly does not mean that the reader necessarily checks every quotation given - it is unlikely that the juvenile reader would independently follow up any reference - but the fact that (a degree of) verification is possible if the reader wishes shows that the authors of the book regard it as a serious, scientific, if relatively low-stratum text in the western empirical tradition, the tradition into which the readers of the texts are being socialised. Similarly, the GDR texts clearly form part of the socialist tradition of emotive and judgemental texts.

There are exceptions to this generalisation regarding the FRG texts, such as the statement below in which the belief of the authors as the representatives of the FRG establishment is presented as a universally and eternally valid desideratum and is not explained or justified in any way, or attributed to any particular source:

- 1 Wir müssen lernen, das Grundgesetz kritisch zu lesen, und wir müssen auch lernen, die Widersprüche zwischen dem Verfassungstext und der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit zu erkennen, um diese den Idealen der Verfassung immer mehr anzunähern. (G&P, p 82)

This is an example of a "self-evident truth" that is self-evident only to a subscriber (here the authors and, by extension, the readers as members of the same society) to the ideology containing that particular truth, and which would not necessarily be accepted by a holder of a different world-view. This type of statement is much more common in the GDR texts: the example below compares interestingly with the FRG quotation above, in that, whilst the attitudes to the respective constitutions being prescribed are very different, the terms in which they are prescribed are similarly unequivocal:

- 2 . . . in diesem Kapitel (wird) nachgewiesen, daß in unserer Republik allen Werktätigen die Ausübung vielfältiger Rechte und ihre Mitwirkung an der Leitung der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung garantiert ist. Jeder sollte sich diese Rechte und Pflichten fest einprägen, damit er sie auch jederzeit verantwortungsbewußt ausüben kann. (8/84)

The fact that the GDR texts contain a greater amount of unverifiable statements which have to be taken simply "on trust" conforms to our classification of them as fundamentally operative.

8.2 The use of "sein"

The setting-up of a linguistic framework for the testing of non-statistical information and material that is quoted from unnamed sources is more problematic. The traditional analytic-synthetic dichotomy (see for example Lyons (1968:444f)) is satisfactory only in as far as it draws the fundamental distinction between statements that are necessarily true because they satisfy all their truth-conditions, and thus cannot be questioned or tested further (analytic), and those that are true only in a particular context as a result of particular extra-linguistic circumstances, and which can be tested against those circumstances (synthetic). The problem with this distinction is that no definition is given as to what constitutes "necessary truth" - as Abraham says, "their (analytic truths') truth conditions themselves are not satisfied in every possible world" (Abraham (1974:25) (4)). In the present discussion we are dealing with "worlds", ie the FRG and the GDR, which to varying extents create and define their own truth conditions. The result of this is that statements which are regarded as analytic, ie necessarily true, within the context of their native ideology, are regarded by non-sub-

scribers to that ideology as untrue or at best synthetic, ie open to doubt, discussion and testing. (Obvious examples of such statements would be "Im Sozialismus übt die Arbeiterklasse die Macht aus" from a GDR source or "Zwischen Arbeitnehmer und Arbeitgeber herrschen partnerschaftliche Beziehungen" from an FRG source). Our aim in the present investigation is not to establish the truth or otherwise of statements made in the two sets of texts, but to discuss the degree to which they are testable and thus the extent to which they confirm our basic division of the texts into operative and informative. For this reason we are abandoning the analytic/synthetic distinction with its philosophical and semantic complications, and ask simply whether it is possible to test statements against other statements and against extralinguistic reality, and to what extent the results of this testing of the language permit the setting up of rival hypotheses and the adopting of conflicting views. The most obvious area for investigation in this respect is the relational use of sein in statements and definitions.

The testability of such sentences must be investigated on two levels: firstly on the immediate level of the surrounding text in terms of lexis and the relationships drawn between lexical items, in order to ascertain the degree of correspondence in terms of information between the equative/definitional sentence and its immediate context; secondly on the level of the textbook as a whole, and beyond that in the context of the whole universe of texts available to the reader, again in order to discover to what extent the reader is able to quantify and redefine the terms contained in the definition. The third level on which it is possible to investigate some of these sentences is that of extralinguistic reality; this applies particularly to statistical information. Testing of this kind is fraught with danger, however, and goes beyond the scope of the present thesis; we are interested only in whether it is possible, not in how it is done.

The categories established by Halliday and Huddleston for classifying the uses of to be in English are of little relevance to the present investigation, firstly because they are too delicate for our purposes and secondly because Halliday's and Huddleston's aims differ from our own, in that they are attempting to draw up a taxonomy of all possible uses of English be, whilst we wish to discuss the types of German be that actually occur in the school texts. Similarly, Kress

and Hodge's division of relational sentences into NOUN + NOUN and NOUN + ADJECTIVE, corresponding to "the articulation of the logic of an existing system" and "judgment" respectively, cannot be applied in the present investigation (Kress and Hodge (1979:103); see also Gray (1977:22f). We have found NOUN + NOUN sentences which contain clearly judgemental features:

- 3 Ein äußerst wichtiges Mittel der Innenpolitik der Imperialisten ist die geistige Manipulierung der Volksmassen. (10/51)

and NOUN + ADJECTIVE sentences which simply draw the logical conclusion from the preceding text (see below). Such conclusions are themselves frequently judgemental in that they are logical only within the framework of the particular ideology, but this is not necessarily always the case.

The following GDR example of a paragraph-final sentence with sein illustrates a circularity of syntax and lexis corresponding to a circularity of argument and definition as discussed above in the sections on problematisation and causality. We quote the paragraph in its entirety and then reproduce in schematic form the progression of the statements made:

- 4 (1) Während die Kapitalisten zur Sicherung der kapitalistischen Ausbeutung und Erhaltung ihres Systems einheitlich und geschlossen gegen die Arbeiterklasse auftreten, verhalten sie sich im Konkurrenzkampf untereinander wie Wölfe. (2) Im Interesse höchstmöglicher Profite findet zwischen den kapitalistischen Unternehmern ein Kampf auf Leben und Tod statt. (3) Jeder Kapitalist muß im Interesse seines Profits gegenüber den anderen Kapitalisten ständig nach Vorteilen streben. (4) Das Ergebnis der Konkurrenz ist die Niederlage und der geschäftliche Tod des einen, der Sieg und die Herrschaft des anderen. (9/42)

- (1) whilst A, B (A = einheitlich und geschlossen; B = Konkurrenzkampf)
 (2) because C, B; B = D + E (C = Profit; D = Leben; E = Tod)
 (3) because C, B
 (4) B = E + D

The apparently new conclusion drawn in the fourth sentence to sum up the argument has already been given in sentence (2); whilst the lexis varies slightly throughout the extract (Konkurrenzkampf, Kampf, Streben, Konkurrenz, Kapitalisten, kapitalistische Unternehmer, der eine . . . der andere; Wölfe, Leben und Tod, Tod und Herrschaft), the relationships drawn between the three main components of each sentence remain constant. In terms of information the final sentence is largely redundant

and tautologous, serving simply to reinforce an emotively-loaded message already delivered earlier in the paragraph.

On the level of the immediate text, then, the fourth sentence above is testable only within the terms in which it is originally defined: the argument is circular. On the wider level of the book as a whole, the identical argument and definition are found in the glossary of terms at the end of the book (9/91): both the ideational and modal content of the passage quoted are confirmed and reinforced, and no new or additional material is given (5).

The sentence below is similarly irrefutable in the context of the book as a whole, in that all other relations drawn with the key term confirm the original statement both denotatively and emotively:

- 5 Die BRD ist ein Staat der geistigen Unfreiheit, der Unmenschlichkeit und der Unterdrückung des Denkens; im Klasseninteresse des herrschenden Imperialismus. (7/90)

This is confirmed by the following sentences:

- 6 Der Imperialismus braucht die Verrohung der Menschen, damit sie seine eigenen räuberischen und verbrecherischen Ziele unterstützen (7/90);
- 7 Die BRD gehört heute zu den mächtigsten kapitalistischen Staaten, sie ist Hauptverbündeter des aggressiven USA-Imperialismus (7/76);
- 8 Unter Mißachtung des Willens der Mehrheit der deutschen Bevölkerung und unter Verletzung des Potsdamer Abkommens wurde im September 1949 die Spaltung Deutschlands mit der Gründung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) vollendet (7/33).

These examples all show the same judgemental stance, the same attitude to what they are describing, and the same basic message; these will also be found in any other texts that the reader might consult, as in the following example:

Mit der Einschränkung der Meinungsfreiheit für die Arbeiterklasse verfolgt das Monopolkapital das Ziel, einen Damm gegen die sozialistische Ideologie zu bilden. Mit Hilfe der riesigen Konzerne des Verlags- und Pressewesens . . . , der Filmindustrie und des Fernsehens wird für die arbeitende Bevölkerung jene Meinung "gemacht", die im Interesse der Aufrechterhaltung der imperialistischen Macht- und Eigentumsverhältnisse erforderlich ist. (Anders et al (1973:111-4))

The same phenomenon is illustrated in the examples below, where comparison with other texts would again yield the same result:

- 9 Die Arbeiterklasse ist die wichtigste Produktivkraft der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft. (9/45)

- 10 Die Arbeiterklasse ist die einzig konsequent revolutionäre Klasse. (9/48)
- 11 In der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft ist die Arbeiterklasse die einzige Klasse, die alle ausgebeuteten und unterdrückten Klassen und Schichten um sich vereinigen kann . . . (9/49)
- 12 Die Arbeiterklasse ist schon durch ihre objektiven Existenzbedingungen eine Macht. (9/50)

These statements are necessarily true for someone who subscribes to the ML ideology, and thus do not need to be tested; for anyone else, working from a different starting point, they are simply opinions and open to discussion.

This device of presenting statements as true which are ultimately untestable except within the terms of the particular ideology, which defines the conditions for the analysis, is also seen in the case of verbs other than sein: conclusions are drawn that are perfectly reasonable and logical within the framework of ML, but this framework itself is not questioned. Neither is there ever any suggestion that the conclusions drawn could be unbalanced or mistaken - the world-view presented to the reader is totally harmonious and cohesive.

The examples above support our contention that the GDR texts present a closed universe for the reader, in which it is possible to test the statements made only to a limited extent, and where the same (ideologically desirable) view of an issue is found in all cases. A similar phenomenon is found in the FRG texts, in that within a particular extract a definition conforms to the parameters set out within the text; if this were not the case then each extract would be self-contradictory or simply nonsensical. However, whilst a particular extract may present a closed view of an issue and present it from one point of view only, on the level of the book as a whole this operative characteristic no longer applies, in that extracts are found which contrast with or contradict each other; thus the texts do not present a single harmonious view of any particular issue, and definitions are testable, to the extent that they can be compared with definitions of the same thing from different sources; statements which in themselves may be untestable, as a result of being founded on imprecise and relative terms or because they contain personal value-judgements presented as moral absolutes, are testable, in that the opinions voiced in them can be compared with others. Thus G&P contains the following quotation

on the position of women in society:

- 13 (1) Die veränderte Situation der Frau drückt sich vor allem darin aus, daß sie außerhalb der Familie viele neue Chancen hat, um sich frei zu entfalten und nach Selbstverwirklichung zu streben. (2) Die Familie ist nicht mehr der ausschließliche Aufgabenbereich. (3) Fast zehn Millionen außerhalb der Familie und des Haushalts erwerbstätige Frauen machen dies deutlich. (4) Für die Frau ist Berufstätigkeit zu einem Mittel der Selbstverwirklichung geworden. (G&P, p 205)

This may be schematised as follows:

- (1) $A = B$ in $-C$ (A = situation; B = development; C = family)
(2) $-C = A$
(3) 10 000 000A = ($A = B$ in $-C$)
(4) $-C = B$

The argument here, containing sein in (2) and perfect tense werden in (4) fulfilling a definitional/equative function, is circular and self-confirming like the GDR example above, and within these four sentences the reader can test the statements made only to a limited extent. However, the views and definitions given here contrast with those in adjacent extracts: the text below follows that quoted above:

- 14 Früh schon für einen Beruf ausgebildet, haben die meisten Mädchen keine Möglichkeit, ihre Stellung konsequent zu überdenken, geschweige denn, sich mit Kraft dagegen zu stemmen. Was bleibt, ist ein dumpfes Unwohlsein und Unzufriedenheit über ihr Schicksal. Dieses Schicksal ändert sich auch dadurch nicht, daß immer mehr Frauen und Mädchen arbeiten und im Beruf stehen, was eigentlich nur eine Doppelbelastung bedeutet: die Rolle als Hausfrau und Mutter muß sie nach wie vor übernehmen, auch wenn sie mitverdient. Sie ist dann nur das in den Betrieb versetzte Hausmütterchen. (G&P, p 205-6)

Again the definition in the final sentence sums up the entire preceding paragraph and is testable only in terms of that paragraph (6).

The net effect of this juxtaposing of contrasting definitions which are in themselves ultimately untestable is to provide a variety of opinions which can be compared and measured against each other; no one particular view is prescribed for the reader. The nearest approach to a prescribed view might be the very general type of definition quoted below from a discussion on Recht and Gerechtigkeit:

- 15 Recht ist wandelbar. Es unterliegt den Zeitströmungen, wie die anderen Kulturbereiche auch. Es kann autoritäre Bestrebungen unterstützen, bei einer Demokratisierung mitwirken oder Ausdruck eines Wohlfahrtsstaates sein. (G&P, p 135)

This is not presented as the end of the story or the solution to a

problem, but serves as the basis for a discussion of various interpretations of the term. Whilst the ideological prerequisite of plurality of views is prescribed, within this framework the reader is able to test and compare the various definitions given from Demosthenes onwards. Similar examples are found, for example, in the field of education (7).

Other testable kinds of definition found in the FRG texts include:

(1) statements of belief, based on more or less generally accepted scientific belief, which can be tested up to a point against extralinguistic reality as well as against contrasting statements within the text:

- 16 Anders als bei unserem Beispiel sind die Produktionsfaktoren Kapital und Arbeit in Wirklichkeit getrennt. (TP, p 69);
- 17 Das deliktische Handeln ist so weithin Teil einer Jugendkultur, die man mehr oder weniger "spielerisch" realisiert. (G&P, p 65);
- 18 Um die Nachfrage zu befriedigen, muß mehr produziert werden, dazu werden wiederum mehr Arbeitskräfte benötigt. Das Ergebnis ist ein wirtschaftlicher Aufschwung, verbunden mit Vollbeschäftigung. (G&P, p 157)

(2) historical statements and facts which can be tested against other documents or personal records:

- 19 Wilhelm Liebknecht war ein Führer der Arbeiterbewegung. (TP, p 48);
- 20 Seit 39 Jahren bin ich den Männern gegenüber im Beruf finanziell benachteiligt. (G&P, p 201);
- 21 Die Kinder sind von 5 Uhr morgens bis 12 Uhr mittags, nachmittags von ein Uhr bis zum späten Abend, im Winter natürlich bei Lichte, beschäftigt. (G&P, p 239)

(3) factual statements relating to contemporary society which can be tested against extralinguistic reality:

- 22 Einige sind in der Industrie tätig, andere in der Landwirtschaft, wieder andere handeln mit Gütern. (TP, p 124);
- 23 Alle Arbeiter und Angestellten sind pflichtversichert. (G&P, p 111)

The fact that the majority of the sentences containing sein in the FRG texts are in some way testable contributes to the declared aim of FRG educationists to appeal to the intellect rather than the emotions of the reader.

8.3 Problematisation of and through language

Interrelated with the types of questions and tasks set for the pupils is the issue of problematisation, both of topics and of language. We have seen that the GDR texts present the readers with what amounts to a "closed universe", the bases of which the readers are not invited to question, inquiries only being welcome in as far as they contribute to a more detailed understanding and stronger endorsement of the existing system. This attitude is reflected in the fact that there is very little problematisation in the texts, either of topics or of language.

By contrast, the professed belief in pluralism in the FRG is reflected in the texts by the presentation of a variety of views on each topic and the refusal by the authors to prescribe an opinion for the reader. This has been dealt with above. Linked to the conceptual problematisation of topics is the problematisation of language itself, whether in connection with the presentation of a variety of opinions on a topic, or in general. If one accepts the view of Kress and Hodge that "the grammar of a language is its theory of reality" (Kress and Hodge (1979:7)), then texts containing features which make the reader aware of language as something malleable at the disposal of its user, rather than as a yardstick to which the user's utterances must approximate, will also make the reader aware of the existence and validity of forms of expression and hence of beliefs other than his own. Similarly, texts which do not contain such features present their own "theory of reality" as the only valid one, and the readers of such texts, not being encouraged to question what they are reading, are likely to accept it at face-value - this particularly if they have been trained since an early age to regard such texts as the norm.

There are various devices by means of which the reader of a pedagogic text can be made aware of that text as an artefact; the simplest of these is the provision of a synonym or definitional paraphrase to explain a difficult term. Others include explicit author-intervention to define or evaluate items - what might be termed the "Ich-sage" mode -, and implicit comment, where a great deal is presupposed and opinions presented as facts. It is likely that these devices would occur to a differing degree in different text-types.

According to the guidelines on German-language teaching and on political education, FRG schoolchildren are to be made aware of the manipulative power of language and the effects it can have on the receiver, in order that they themselves do not fall prey to the various kinds of propaganda in the modern world (see for example HRRD; Entwurf; Hilligen (1976) and the many documents discussed in Part I). This is reflected directly in the texts:

- 24 . . . Durch Manipulation mit Hilfe von Leitbildern aus Werbung oder Propaganda kann unser Verhalten so geformt werden, daß wir widersprüchliche Interessen gar nicht mehr erkennen . . . Wer sich vor solchen Manipulationen schützen will, muß immer wieder kritisch fragen . . . (TP, p 25)

Clearly in political/sociological books like those under discussion here one would not expect to find detailed linguistic analyses of the texts; the following is an example of the most one can expect:

- 25 Vom Ort der Entstehung bis zu uns hat eine Mitteilung meistens einen langen Weg hinter sich. Sie wird weitergegeben und dabei verändert . . . Was der Leser, Hörer oder Zuschauer schließlich aufnimmt und behält, ist zudem vorher schon ausgewählt worden. (TP, p 90)

Instead of reading linguistic analyses the reader of the FRG texts is very often made aware of the problems inherent in something he has just read by being presented with an extract that says the opposite, or at least looks at the issue from a different standpoint: Thema Politik has on one page four extracts dealing with various aspects of advertising (p 93), and Gesellschaft und Politik presents three texts dealing with children from different social backgrounds and home-situations (p 220-1). The intention is that, through being confronted with these contrasting texts, the readers will become aware that they should read things carefully and think about what the texts are saying, even if they do not always directly consider the language of the texts as such.

The GDR texts rarely problematise either issues or language in this way. As stated elsewhere, the aim in the GDR is to encourage the pupils to develop a particular point of view by presenting them with suitably parteilich material; this involves describing and evaluating topics from a socialist standpoint, using ideologically acceptable language, and making clear that any deviations from the prescribed norm of opinion or language are wrong. The GDR texts use dark print to emphasise specific parts of the texts which deserve particular attention; these are mainly summarising statements which reiterate

what has gone before, and may be intended for learning by heart. They do not contain any new information, and often repeat almost verbatim parts of what has already been said. In general the sentences in dark print tend to present the key points of the text again, in order to ensure that the pupils internalise the important information that they may have missed on a first reading.

8.3.1 Definitions

The simplest way of drawing attention to language is by providing definitions of words and phrases; in pedagogic texts of the kind under discussion here this is done both within the running text and in the glossaries at the end of the books. In the present section we deal with those that form part of the text itself.

Many of the extracts in dark print in the GDR texts mentioned above contain definitions of key terms. The majority of these contain parteilich words or conclusions; this is also true of those definitions that are not typographically marked:

- 26 Die Erzielung von Mehrwert bedeutet maßlose Erweiterung der kapitalistischen Produktion bei gleichzeitiger Verschlechterung der Lage des Proletariats. (9/29, dark print)
- 27 Klassenbewußtsein der Arbeiter ist "das Verständnis dafür, daß das einzige Mittel zur Verbesserung ihrer Lage und zur Er kämpfung ihrer Freiheit der Kampf gegen die . . . Klasse der Kapitalisten . . . ist. Klassenbewußtsein der Arbeiter heißt ferner zu begreifen, daß die Interessen aller Arbeiter des betreffenden Landes die gleichen sind.. . . (9/35, normal print)
- 28 Demokratischer Zentralismus heißt, daß die zentrale staatliche Leitung und Planung der Grundfragen der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung mit der Eigenverantwortung der Betriebe, Kombinate und örtlichen Staatsorgane sowie der Initiative der Werktätigen verbunden wird. (10/98, dark print)

Definitions in this relatively simple equative form are very rare in the FRG texts, even in the glossaries; the following (which has become almost a cliché) is a rare exception:

- 29 Wirtschaftliche Macht ist gleichzeitig immer politische Macht. (G&P, p 171)

This statement is immediately expanded on and exemplified, and the conclusion is drawn that "Wirtschaftliche Macht muß also kontrolliert werden". The exercising of power by small interest groups is not seen

as bad in itself, but only when it is not adequately controlled and leads to exploitation. There is no suggestion that the system should be changed, but simply that the less powerful should be protected. It could be argued that this suggests a desirable opinion to the reader and prescribes his reaction to the same extent as the GDR texts do by appealing to the emotions. We have seen above that FRG political education is regarded by many as Erziehung zur Anpassung (see for example Becker et al (1970)); this example would confirm their view.

Definitions are more frequently presented in the FRG texts in the following way:

- 30 Arbeitskräftepotential. Mit diesem Ausdruck bezeichnet man die Anzahl derjenigen, die einer Erwerbstätigkeit nachgehen könnten . . .
 Erwerbsquote: Dieser Begriff bezeichnet den Anteil der tatsächlichen Erwerbstätigen an der gesamten Bevölkerung.
 (G&P, p 116)

Here a distance is created between the word and the people using it, and it is easier to perceive the words as tools that can be used to achieve a particular end, and not as immutable absolutes.

8.3.2 Loan-words

Another major way in which the pupils become aware of language as something malleable and non-permanent is through the use of loan-words; these are much more frequent in the FRG texts than in the GDR ones, being mainly English or American in origin, and normally the loan-word or -phrase is followed by a synonymous German word in brackets. Thus G&P contains, among others, the following:

- 31 imputiert (aufgezwungen); obligatorisch-kollektivistisch
 (für alle gleichermaßen verpflichtend); Kollaboration
 (Zusammenarbeit); empirisch (aus der Erfahrung gewonnen),

and TP contains:

- 32 integrieren (zusammenschließen); Jahre der Stagnation (dh in denen die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung nicht mehr anstieg); Redakteur (Schreiber).

The same device is occasionally found in the GDR texts: see for example 8/120: "Koexistenz (Zusammenbestehen)". More frequently the reverse sequence is found, ie Germanic terms are used to describe a concept, and the specialist non-Germanic term is then introduced in brackets:

- 33 Entwertung des Geldes und Ansteigen der Warenpreise (Inflation); (Die Produktionsverhältnisse) werden durch die beiden Reproduktionsphasen Verteilung (Distribution) und Austausch (Zirkulation) vermittelt.

In GDR texts written for adults the foreign loan-words are more commonly used than the Germanic terms, particularly in economic texts; the apparent preference in the school texts for the Germanic terms is thus not carried over into adult texts.

8.3.3 Author-intervention

In the FRG texts there are occasional attempts of other kinds by the authors to make the pupils aware of language as something that can be controlled and manipulated by its users to suit their own purposes. The most common way of doing this is by the insertion of some sort of comment by the author into the text:

- 34 Man spricht dann auch von multinationalen Konzernen. (TP, p 73)
- 35 Man sagt dazu auch, sie haben verschiedene soziale Rollen. (TP, p 113)
- 36 Nach einer Woche schon setzten sich Arbeitgeber und Vertreter der Arbeitnehmer, Gewerkschaftler also, wieder zusammen. (G&P, p 34)
- 37 Anders formuliert: das Mittelalter genöß schon die 45-Stunden-Woche. (G&P, p 237)

GDR examples include the following:

- 38 Als Klassen bezeichnet man große Menschengruppen, die sich voneinander unterscheiden . . . (7/93)
- 39 . . . Dabei wird der Begriff Elend in doppeltem Sinn verwandt. Einerseits geht es um das Elend im sozialen Sinne . . . Andererseits geht es um das Elend im physischen Sinne . . . (9/31)
- 40 Das ökonomische Grundgesetz des Sozialismus wird auch als Bewegungsgesetz der sozialistischen Gesellschaft bezeichnet, weil es auf der Grundlage des sozialistischen Eigentums an den Produktionsmitteln die völlig neue Zielsetzung der Gesellschaft ausdrückt. (10/76)

Example 39 above is virtually unique in the way and the degree to which it problematises and discusses the meaning of a term. Other multifaceted terms are normally dealt with in a more straightforward way, such as the definition of class-consciousness quoted in example 27,

where the defining features of the term are simply listed like a series of components. The idea that words can be used in different ways to convey different things is very unusual in the GDR texts, apart from the denouncing of "corrupt" capitalist usage dealt with above.

8.3.4 Paraphrase and exemplification

Apart from the relatively short equative definitions discussed above, there are in both sets of texts more extended paraphrases, sometimes involving the replacement of a technical term by a common-language one, sometimes involving exemplification. In the FRG examples below, the language used is problematised, and the pupils are drawn into the reasoning process:

- 41 Ein Vergleich mit der handwerklichen Arbeit des Menschen soll diesen Vorgang verdeutlichen. (G&P, p 192)

The exemplification in this case extends over three sentences, and is intended to explain the term Rückkopplungsprinzip. Further parallels are drawn within the paraphrase:

- 42 Für den technischen Bereich bietet die Arbeitsweise eines Thermostaten (etwa im Bügeleisen oder in der Heizungsanlage) ein gutes Beispiel für einen einfachen Regelkreis. (G&P, p 192)

It is made quite clear that these are only illustrations and not the main substance of this section of the book; they serve to distance the reader temporarily from the text and divert his thoughts elsewhere, whilst at the same time ensuring that he realises that this is happening and is a "conscious" participant. In the example below the reader is given the (apparent) choice of whether he accepts the comparison or not; the simile is not binding or exhaustive:

- 43 Man kann sich als Ziele (der Wirtschaftspläne) zum Beispiel vorstellen: Verringerung der Analphabetenzahlen oder Steigerung der Stahlproduktion. (TP, p 128)

This contrasts with the following GDR example, where not only is the explanatory phrase binding and intended to be memorised, but it also contains a judgement that the reader is likewise required to adopt:

- 44 Auch in der Gegenwart nimmt die Zahl der Lohnarbeiter, der Klasse, die keine Produktionsmittel besitzt und durch das Kapital ausgebeutet wird, ständig zu. (9/46)

Whilst the majority of the FRG paraphrases are simply intended to clarify meaning and do so in terms that are not binding, there are occasional examples where specialist terms are also used in the paraphrased version

and which fail to question the bases of these:

- 45 1974 waren 85,6% aller Berufstätigen unselbständige Arbeitnehmer, d.h. sie hatten einen Vertrag mit einem Arbeitgeber geschlossen, in dem sie ihre Arbeitskraft gegen Entlohnung zur Verfügung stellten. (TP, p 117)

Here the implications of the terms Arbeitnehmer and Arbeitgeber are not raised; they are presented as the only words for the concept and the presuppositions inherent in them of a partnership of generous giving and receiving are not called into question. Moreover, the principle of buying and selling labour is presented as natural and unexceptionable. This extract is taken from the glossary of TP, which is intended to explain terms and concepts briefly; here reference is clearly being made to the FRG's own system of labour-relations and employment, but the fact that this is presented as unimpeachable suggests that to some extent the readers of the FRG texts are confronted with a closed universe too (cf the reference above to Erziehung zur Anpassung).

TP draws attention to the linguistic "rift" between the FRG and the GDR:

- 46 In der DDR sind Wörter und Abkürzungen alltäglich, unter denen sich bei uns nur wenige etwas vorstellen können . . . Einem Schüler aus der DDR ginge es nicht anders, wenn er lesen würde: BDI, Gewinnbeteiligung . . . (TP, p 83)

Whilst this point is mentioned only in passing in the FRG texts and no judgements are made, the authors of the GDR texts are constantly at pains to point out the falsificatory and propagandistic nature of language in the FRG; it is in this area that the reader's attention is drawn most frequently to language. The aim is to expose the FRG language as wrong and replace the view it transmits with the correct one:

- 47 Aus allen diesen Gründen gibt es keine "Gemeinsamkeiten" und auch keine "Annäherung" zwischen uns und den Imperialisten in der BRD, wie es immer wieder von westlichen Politikern behauptet wird. Mit dieser Behauptung wollen diese auch nur den Eindruck erwecken, daß es in einer späteren Zeit doch noch eine Wiedervereinigung von DDR und BRD zu einem großen imperialistischen Staat geben könnte. (7/90)
- 48 Die Arbeiter sollen sich willig dem Monopolkapital unterordnen, sie sollen, wie es heißt, den "Betriebsfrieden" wahren, sich als "Sozialpartner" verhalten. (8/89)
- 49 Alles Gerede von einem "gewandelten Kapitalismus", von "Sozialpartnerschaft" und "Klassenharmonie" wird angesichts dieser Zahlen zu einer inhaltslosen Phrase . . .

. . . Setzen Sie sich mit den Bezeichnungen "Arbeitgeber" und "Arbeitnehmer" auseinander! Warum sind sie falsch? Was soll mit solchen Begriffen verschleiert werden? (9/26)

Here a clear distance is maintained between the GDR authors and the terms they use, mainly through the use of inverted commas, and always with the intention of condemning that which is problematised. When attention is drawn to the language of the GDR itself, however, it is always in an essentially affirmative way, as in the definitions numbered 38-40 above. Since the GDR authors regard their language as the medium through which the only correct way of looking at the world is transmitted, it is not possible for them to question it critically or wish to move outside the standpoint represented by it, since this would in their view lead to the adoption of a false ideology such as that which is promulgated in the FRG.

The FRG authors do not unconditionally accept the GDR's view of itself, as seen in the following sentences:

50 Da alle ihr Einkommen aus ihrer Arbeit beziehen, behaupten die Führenden in der DDR, die Macht werde von den Werktätigen direkt ausgeübt. (TP, p 137)

This is a rare example of a fairly direct author-comment that is not subsequently modified or justified in any way; it suggests scepticism on the part of the authors as to the accuracy of what the GDR leaders claim.

51 Für uns ist das Recht ein Mittel der Politik und der Macht der Arbeiterklasse, unter der der Mensch, seine Würde und sein friedliches Leben im Mittelpunkt steht und sonst gar nichts. (G&P, p 135)

The FRG text is here quoting a GDR source in a discussion of Recht and Gerechtigkeit; it is the last in a series of eight quotations showing various ideas regarding these concepts. It is made clear to the pupils that these terms are not immutable absolutes, and since this extract begins with für uns they are explicitly excluded as they are not GDR citizens, and thus what is said is immediately relativised. The readers are asked to discuss this statement:

52 Was meint Ihr zu der Aussage im M8, Recht sei ein Mittel der Politik? (G&P, p 135)

In view of the fact that this question is asked, any initial emotive reaction to the statement will have to be rationalised, and those who have just read and accepted the statement unquestioningly will also have to give it more careful thought.

53 In der sozialistischen Verfassung ist mit Absicht nicht vom Volk, sondern von den Werktätigen die Rede. Darin

liegt der Hinweis, daß die Staatsgesellschaft der DDR sich für eine Gesellschaft von Gleichen hält: alle sind werktätig, es gibt keine Fabrikbesitzer oder Menschen, die von den Zinsen ihres Kapitals leben. (TP, p 136)

Here the authors are again drawing the attention of the readers to an important point, and are interpreting it for them. They are repeating what the GDR has said of itself, and while no overt opinion is voiced on this, the use of sich halten für indicates disagreement or at least scepticism on the part of the authors as to the accuracy of the claim.

54. Positiv in der DDR dürfte wohl sein . . . ein sehr hoher Prozentsatz von Arbeiter- und Bauernkindern in den Universitäten. (G&P, p 114)

This is a judgement delivered by a speaker on a TV programme; here his opinion as to the positive aspects of life in the GDR is immediately balanced by the negative side:

55. Es ist eine Leere da, die . . . kommt, durch Schematismus, . . . durch ewige Wiederholungen in abgedroschener Sprache, durch ewige Wiederholung des gleichen. (G&P, p 114)

Whilst the readers of the FRG texts are as usual given two sides of a picture, and whilst it is made clear that each of these is just one person's opinion and that other people would not necessarily agree with them, it is interesting that it is the language of the GDR that is singled out as symptomatic of life there as a whole. Whilst neither set of authors appears to have any difficulty in perceiving and discussing discrepancies between the linguistic representation of reality offered by the other side and their own perception of it, both sets seem less willing or able to perceive such discrepancies in their own situation, and each appears to believe itself free of the faults it imputes so freely to the other. Whether or not this is true of the authors, it is an impression that is likely to be gained by the pupils, and relative insensitivity to the shortcomings of their own language is likely to be the consequence, particularly in the case of the GDR.

In addition to discussing the linguistic differences between the FRG and the GDR, TP also deals with the various technical and group-specific language subsystems that are found within the FRG:

56. Nicht nur die Sprache der Wirtschaftsseiten gleicht häufig einer "Geheimsprache", die man lernen muß, um zu begreifen, daß Wirtschaftsnachrichten Dinge enthalten, die jeden betreffen. Für Sportberichte oder die politischen Seiten gilt das gleiche. Blättert Jugendzeitschriften durch, und sucht nach Wörtern und Ausdrücken, von denen ihr annehmt, daß nur Jugendliche sie anwenden und verstehen. (TP, p 89)

This topic is not discussed at all in the GDR books, possibly since a

proliferation of language subsystems corresponding to social subgroups would reflect an undesirable diversity of ideologies; the language of young people in particular was ignored completely until fairly recently, again because it suggested a less than harmonious society and smacked of rebellion. For a recent treatment of this topic see Oschlies (1980).

A further example of the problematisation of language is found in a discussion of the rights of parents and children in G&P; the following task is set, which calls for abstract thought on a fairly high level about linguistic usage:

- 57 Der Begriff "elterliche Gewalt" soll in "elterliche Sorge" umgewandelt werden. Stellt in Form von Stichwörtern gegenüber, was diese beiden Begriffe beinhalten und wodurch sie sich voneinander unterscheiden. (G&P, p 142-3)

Such problematisation takes a different form in the GDR texts. The GDR pupils are asked to discuss terminology in two major ways. Firstly, they are simply asked to explain the meaning of ML terms that have been introduced in the text; this has been discussed above and was found to be affirmatory in nature. Secondly, the pupils are asked to demonstrate the negative nature of FRG terms, as dealt with above and as seen also in the following example:

- 58 Setzen Sie sich mit der Auffassung auseinander, daß der bürgerliche Staat ein "Rechtsstaat" für alle Bürger sei! Beziehen Sie in Ihre Argumentation aktuelle Beispiele ein, die beweisen, daß diese These eine Lüge ist und das Klassenwesen des kapitalistischen Staates verschleiern soll. (9/34)

Neither of the above types of discussion involves independent thought or gives any scope for imagination; it is clear in both cases what attitudes the pupils are to demonstrate and what answers they are to give.

The authors of the texts, and, in the FRG texts, also the authors of the extracts quoted within the schoolbooks, also involve themselves in the text in other ways. In the case of the FRG texts, this is usually either to give their own interpretation of a statement or to show the readers that they should not accept everything that other people say:

- 59 Nach Ansicht der Verfasser hängt das Lebensschicksal eines Menschen hauptsächlich davon ab, . . . wie sie arbeiten und produzieren. (TP, p 16)

This sentence makes it clear that this is only the opinion of the authors, and is not a universal truth with which the readers are obliged to agree.

- 60 Gastarbeiter reagieren in Zeiten der Rezession, so Dr. Christoph Rosenmöller, "elastisch auf den Konjunktur-Rückgang" - will heißen, sie dürfen bleiben, solange sie gebraucht werden. (G&P, p 246)

This is a quotation from a book published by Der Spiegel; the interpretation and paraphrase offered are the personal view of the writers, and this is not how Dr Rosenmöller would necessarily phrase his beliefs. There is a contrast between the vague and somewhat euphemistic language of Rosenmöller and the direct and straightforward language of the writers. This contrast is what is likely to strike the pupils first, and the intention of the writers of G&P is that they will be prompted to go on and discuss the accuracy of the paraphrase, to discuss which speakers have assessed the situation more accurately, and the attitude of the speakers in general. G&P does not itself take sides here, but simply provides a variety of facts, statistics and opinions regarding foreign workers; the overall impression gained is that, while the authors of G&P do not state whether or not they are in favour of repatriating Gastarbeiter, they are broadly sympathetic towards them and recognise the problems faced by them and their native countries. The following is another example from the same topic area:

- 61 Sogenannte kalte und stille Abschiebungsversuche mittels sozialer und rechtlicher Diskriminierung haben in weiten Kreisen der ausländischen Arbeiter ein universelles Klima von Furcht und Unsicherheit geschaffen. (G&P, p 247)

There is no indication given as to who uses these terms, but the use of sogenannt serves to suggest that these terms are euphemistic and that the activities are really illegal, and to distance the writers from the attitude implicit in them. The interjections in the following extract are similar: they serve to distance the speakers from what they are quoting and to structure the message and to make its meaning clear:

- 62 Die Wirtschaftspolitik zentraler Lenkung möge - so wird bisweilen gesagt - wirtschaftliche Nachteile haben; sozial sei sie gut und notwendig. Nun zeigt sich: Nicht nur wirtschaftlich leistet sie wenig . . . (G&P, p 182)

In the example below überzeugt serves a similar distancing purpose:

- 63 Mitglieder der Unterschicht sind überzeugt, daß sie durch eine tiefe und kaum zu überbrückende Kluft von der übrigen Gesellschaft getrennt sind. (TP, p 122)

No overt comment is made on the beliefs mentioned; the readers are left to form their own opinions.

Whilst no reasons or justifications are given for the opinions voiced in the example above, this is not always the case. The sentence below is presented as a fact in the same way as the one above, but it is explained and justified two sentences later:

- 64 Bis 1980 muß damit gerechnet werden, daß rund 10,5 Millionen Erwerbstätige in der gesamten Wirtschaft der Bundesrepublik "freigesetzt" werden Das geht aus einer Studie hervor, die auf Initiative des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes erarbeitet und vom Bundeswirtschaftsministerium finanziert wurde. (G&P, p 193)

The issue of testability is closely related to that of causality and the question as to whether causal links are made explicit; we have dealt with this topic in more detail in a separate section, but the two examples below illustrate how causal conjunctions can be used firstly to elucidate a statement and in the second example to obfuscate a potential problem area and leave undiscussed a series of cultural presuppositions:

- 65 Obermüllers Chancen, den gewünschten Berufsweg in München zu beginnen, sind verschwindend klein, denn auf 1000 Lehrstellen der Münchner Elektroindustrie kommen 7000 Bewerber. (G&P, p 54)
- 66 Da Bildungsgrad und berufliche Stellung eng zusammenhängen, ist das Bildungssystem zum wichtigsten Kanal des sozialen Aufstiegs geworden. (TP, p 119)

The statement made in the first half of sentence 66 and which serves as a basis for the rest of it, is not questioned in the rest of the passage in which it occurs. It is taken for granted that the readers will accept this statement, and this is fairly likely to happen, since this is the philosophy that will have formed the basis of the majority of their lives so far. They will have been told many times that only if they work hard at school and pass their examinations will they secure a good job and a good income, and this belief is being reinforced here (see for example von Cube (1972:44f)). In the second half of sentence 66 education is connected with Aufstieg - only the positive side of the picture is shown at this point. This sentence stands at the beginning of a section on adult education, and the assumption is made that everybody wants to move up the social scale and so they will all want to learn. This sentence is thus an en-

couragement to the pupils to work hard, as well as being a statement of fact.

In the case of the GDR texts the opinions of the authors are not differentiated from those of the pupils or the rest of society;

67 Jeder von uns weiß: Die Menschen der DDR kennen keine Angst vor der Zukunft. (7/89)

68 Untersuchen wir die Arbeitsbedingungen der Arbeiterklasse unter den Anforderungen der maschinellen Großproduktion, so zeigt sich, daß die Arbeiterklasse objektiv eine Reihe von besonderen Eigenschaften entwickelt. (9/49)

69 Wir erkennen also: Um eine hohe Effektivität der Produktion zu gewährleisten, ist es überaus wichtig, daß die objektiv erforderlichen Proportionen in der Wirtschaft planmäßig hergestellt und eingehalten werden. (10/84)

Here again the universe is closed and harmonious. The following is a rare example from the FRG texts of unqualified author-comment of this type:

70 Vorteilhaft bei dieser Form ist, daß alle Arbeitnehmer den gleichen Anteil am Fondsvermögen besitzen sollen, unabhängig davon, ob die jeweilige Ertragslage ihres Betriebes günstig oder ungünstig ist. (G&P, p 168)

This is a statement made by the authors of Gesellschaft und Politik in a discussion of the advantages of the various forms of profit-sharing; this particular type is evaluated by the authors as positive because the workers profit from it. This is a small indication that, although the authors of the book claim to be neutral, and whilst in the vast majority of cases this can be shown to be true, they do occasionally allow their personal beliefs to show and thus create a bias in the texts.

Various devices occur in both sets of texts for drawing the readers into the text and helping them recreate what has gone before:

71 Anders als bei unserem Beispiel sind die Produktionsfaktoren Kapital und Arbeit in Wirklichkeit getrennt. (TP, p 69)

The text has just given the example of children making and selling lemonade to introduce the concept of production factors; the authors are now making it clear to the readers that this is oversimplified, that the world of big business is much more complicated. The readers are drawn into the text and the thought-processes underlying it through the use of unser. The following sentence is similar:

72 Das bedeutet für unser Beispiel, daß Frau Dr. B,

obwohl sie eine Frau ist, auf Grund ihrer Herkunft und Ausbildung . . . einen insgesamt höheren Status hat als Herr A. (TP, p 114)

The pupils are here again helped to become accustomed to using fictional but concrete characters and situations to illustrate theoretical points. This feature is not found in the GDR texts, although the readers are drawn into the texts for other reasons. This usually occurs during the introduction to a new topic, and whilst the extracts may not be overtly evaluative in nature, they problematise the topics only in as far as this is necessary to enable them to be more closely defined in ideological terms:

- 73 Nachfolgend sollen die wichtigsten Existenzbedingungen der Arbeiterklasse in ihrem Zusammenhang und in ihren Auswirkungen auf die Entwicklung der Arbeiterklasse untersucht werden. (9/45)
- 74 Von diesen im Lehrbuch schon behandelten Grundlagen und Zielen der sozialistischen Gesellschaft ausgehend, wird in diesem Kapitel nachgewiesen, daß in unserer Republik allen Werktätigen die Ausübung vielfältiger Rechte und ihre Mitwirkung an der Leitung der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung garantiert ist. (8/84)

Occasionally oblique comments are put in by the authors of the FRG texts to guide the reader and to make sure that he takes into account what the authors feel to be important and relevant. In the two sentences below the authors themselves are not mentioned: the imperatives are impersonal, and the authors' opinion is presented in the form of a fact:

- 75 Die weiblichen Berufstätigen bilden 37% aller Erwerbstätigen; ihr Anteil ist seit 1964 ständig gesunken. Dabei muß berücksichtigt werden, daß die Arbeit der Hausfrauen nicht aufgeführt ist. (TP, p 116)
- 76 Auch muß berücksichtigt werden, daß innerhalb der Ausgaben eines durchschnittlichen 4-Personen-Arbeitnehmerhaushaltes die Aufwendungen für Ernährung und Kleidung stark zurückgegangen sind. (TP, p 118)

In the following quotation an interpretation of the facts is given; the statement is not simply presented on its own and left for the readers to evaluate for themselves, but is taken a step further by the authors so that they can make a generalisation that will apply to a greater range of situations:

- 77 Angestellte und Beamte schicken ihre Kinder weitaus häufiger auf weiterführende Schulen als Arbeiter, die gleich oder sogar mehr verdienen. Hier zeigt sich, daß

die Einstellung zu Schule und Bildung ganz allgemein bei den einzelnen Beschäftigungsgruppen oder sozialen Schichten unterschiedlich ist. (TP, p 120)

At this point there is reference back to an account of a working class schoolgirl whose parents would not send her to the Gymnasium, do not make her do her homework, and regard housework as more important for girls, and of a boy at the Gymnasium whose parents are professionals and watch his progress carefully. The readers are thus given a chance (a) to recapitulate what they have read earlier and (b) to see a concrete illustration of the generalisation they have just received. This confirms what the authors have stated and consolidates its status as fact rather than opinion. No reasons for these states of affairs are suggested, and the situation is presented as a simple fact of life. By following the various references to other sections of the book the reader can gain information on sozialer Status, Marx's idea of zwei Klassen, Schichten, Bildungschance etc; connections are drawn between these that would be interpreted by a GDR reader as features of a self-perpetuating elite-system reserving the socially most valuable positions for the children of those at present occupying them. No judgements of this kind are drawn by the authors of Thema Politik, and no reasons are given for what they present; the situation appears inevitable and immutable, and justifiable simply because it exists. However, the FRG authors do not always present accounts of their own social system in this simplistic and unproblematic way:

78 Ubrigens: auch Arbeitnehmer können natürlich Vermögensbesitzer sein. (G&P, p 39)

This interjection occurs at the end of a short paragraph on social structure and distribution of income. It appears to be part of a quotation from the Statistisches Bundesamt - the text is not quite clear here - and it is a reminder that the division of society into classes and occupation-groups is not absolute or rigid.

The following is a rare example of a similar type of interjection taken from a GDR text:

79 Keine zentrale Stelle - und hätte sie noch so viele kluge Mitarbeiter - ist in der Lage, die tausendfältigen Beziehungen in und zwischen den Betrieben unmittelbar zu planen und zu organisieren. (10/99)

Here the ironic klug and the use of the distancing subjunctive in the interjected clause serves to lighten the tone of the sentence. However, unlike the example from the FRG text, the interjection here does

not add anything to the logical meaning of the sentence or provide a contrast with what has gone before. Whilst the reader may be temporarily amused, the universe is still closed.

The extract below illustrates how, like in examples 75 and 76, an author can direct and manipulate the reactions of a reader through the use of impersonal constructions, and be prescriptive even without personally being mentioned:

- 80 In Deutschland stieg die Zahl der Arbeitslosen von 1 320 000 im September 1929 auf 5 102 000 im September 1932 . . .
 Es muß hinzugefügt werden, daß in diesen Zahlen nur die
 amtlich registrierten Arbeitslosen enthalten sind . . .
 Man muß hinter den Zahlen die Menschen sehen, die in den
 deutschen Industriestädten hoffnungslos an den Straßen-
 ecken stehen . . . Dann ungefähr kann man sich etwas von
 der namenlosen Angst und Bitterkeit vorstellen, die in der
 Brust von Millionen arbeitenden Männern und Frauen schwelten.
 (G&P, p 155) (our emphasis)

This is part of a quotation from Alan Bullock. The first underlined phrase with its impersonal modal construction constitutes a modification of what has gone before in accordance with the author's personal opinion. The second underlined phrase is an appeal to the readers for sympathy with those described, and the final underlined phrase "prescribes" the results of feeling this sympathy. This is clearly the author's reaction, and he wishes other people to share it. The aim is to elicit sympathy for the unemployed both in the past and at present, and to explain how Hitler used the situation to help his rise to power. There is an implicit warning against letting the same thing happen again.

Possibly surprisingly, this kind of overt prescription of a reaction is rare in the GDR texts; since a major aim of political education in the GDR is to arouse emotions in the pupils, one might have predicted more explicit signalling of this kind. One reason for this not being so may be that, as we have already discussed, the authors wish to create through the texts a cohesive and closed universe in which all attitudes and reactions are presented as natural and automatic. The linguistic foregrounding of emotions as in the above passage would disrupt this harmonious picture and suggest the possibility of alternatives. The following are examples of the rare occasions where the GDR texts break away from the creation of this closed universe:

- 81 Wie für jeden sichtbar, trifft der sozialistische Staat
 vielfältige Maßnahmen, um diese Unterschiede schritt-

weise zu reduzieren. (10/80)

- 82 Es (ist) eine unbestreitbare Tatsache, daß im Vergleich zum Jahr 1850 die Ausbeutung der werktätigen Massen in der Industrie auf rund 800 Prozent gestiegen und so hoch wie nie zuvor in der Geschichte ist . . . (9/46-7)

Whilst both these statements refer to the real world and so are in theory testable, they are phrased in a prescriptive and unequivocal fashion as facts. The phrase es ist eine unbestreitbare Tatsache is repeated in three consecutive sentences, and is not cognitively necessary in a text in which everything is presented as a fact; however, it adds emotive emphasis to what is said, presumably in order to ensure that even if the readers do not remember details of the "sins" of capitalism listed, they will recall how terrible they are. The sentence thus contributes to the arousing of feelings of hatred toward capitalism that is one of the main aims of political education in the GDR (see Neuner et al (1976:263)). This is in marked contrast to the FRG texts, where the authors themselves very rarely prescribe a reaction and where great emphasis is laid on the right of everybody to hold their own opinion and the undesirability of forcing one's own views on others.

The following is an example of (non-emotive) foregrounding of a topic from an FRG text; the aim of the passage is to explain the concept Investivlohn, and from this point of view it can be regarded as a definition. The reason that we discuss it in connection with foregrounding is that, unlike with the majority of the FRG texts, this extract is ambiguous as to precisely whose opinion is being voiced:

- 83 Eine andere Möglichkeit der Vermögensumverteilung ist im "Investivlohn" gegeben. Hierbei wird ein Teil des Einkommens nicht bar ausgezahlt, sondern vermögenswirksam angelegt. Diesem Plan liegt folgender Gedanke zu Grunde: Die bisherige Einkommensverteilung hat zu einer großen Benachteiligung der Arbeitnehmer geführt. Die aktive Lohnpolitik der Gewerkschaften führte keine grundlegende Änderung dieser Situation herbei, weil die Arbeitgeberseite durch Preiserhöhungen einen Teil des Lohnzuwachses wieder für sich abschöpfen kann . . . Hier soll der Investivlohn eine Änderung herbeiführen. (G&P, p 168)

Clearly the beliefs expressed here underlie attempts to reform the system of wages-payment and industrial investment, and as such can be regarded as generally acceptable since it is generally accepted that reform is needed in this area. However, it is not made clear that there may be contrasting or conflicting opinions as to how this is to be achieved, no names are mentioned in connection with the opinions

voiced, and as a result they take on the status of facts rather than interpretations. In fact, it is unclear whether these sentences reflect the opinions of the authors of G&P, ie are to be taken as direct speech, or whether they are part of someone else's ideas altogether. The following example is similar:

- 84 Durch die zentralistische Wirtschaftsplanung kann eine kleine Gruppe von Politikern und Planern die Macht und die Möglichkeit haben, ihre eigenen Interessen durchzusetzen. Es besteht dann die Gefahr, daß nicht die Bedürfnisse aller Bevölkerungsgruppen berücksichtigt werden. (TP, p 129) (emphasis in original)

Here again a judgement is made through the use of the term Gefahr that is not explained or elucidated further. Moreover, the doctrine that all sections of the population should have equal chances of satisfying their needs is not problematised in any way, and the tone is condemnatory in a way typical of the GDR texts.

The sentence below forms part of a passage taken from the Frankfurter Rundschau which deals with the reactions of both employers and unions to the new law on co-determination:

- 85 Die vorgesehene paritätische Zusammensetzung der Aufsichtsräte führe zusammen mit den bereits bestehenden Mitbestimmungsrechten und den Einflußmöglichkeiten der Gewerkschaften zu einer nachhaltigen Verschiebung des Kräftegleichgewichts, hieß es in der Erklärung der Arbeitgeber. (G&P, p 175)

Whilst in the sentence quoted it is made quite clear through the use of the subjunctive that this is the opinion of someone other than the writers of the newspaper and of the schoolbook, this does not necessarily mean that these writers have a different opinion. The section dealing with the unions' reaction also shows a distance between sender and message:

- 86 Nach Ansicht des Hauptvorstandes der IG Chemie, Papier, Keramik bleibt der neue Entwurf "in wesentlichen Punkten hinter den gewerkschaftlichen Forderungen" zurück. In einer Erklärung wird insbesondere die "Verfälschung der paritätischen Besetzung des Aufsichtsrates durch den Einbau eines leitenden Angestellten auf der Arbeitnehmerbank und durch den Stichentscheid durch den Anteilseigner-Aufsichtsratsvorsitzenden" kritisiert. (G&P, p 175) (our emphasis)

The distance is achieved through the inclusion of the phrases underlined. Reasons are given for their disapproval of the law from "both sides of industry", but both the authors of the newspaper text and the authors of G&P remain neutral, or possibly somewhat in agreement with the unions, as suggested through the use of the indicative rather

than the subjunctive.

This distancing between sender and message contrasts with the following quotations from the GDR texts, where no such disjunction is found:

87 Wir erkennen also deutlich den engen Zusammenhang von
 ökonomischem Grundgesetz des Sozialismus und Haupt-
 aufgabe. (10/77)

88 Damit ist deutlich gesagt, daß die Wirtschafts- und
 Sozialpolitik der SED als untrennbare Einheit kontin-
 uierlich weitergeführt werden. (10/77)

The following FRG subtitle is similar:

89 Was man jedenfalls wissen muß: Gewerkschaft - Streik -
 Tarifvertrag. (G&P, p 177)

Here there is generalised "prescription" from the authors; the tone is colloquial, reminiscent of advertising language. The use of man implies that everybody is involved, and that those who do not know about these things are not in the "in-group". This is similar to one of the uses of wir in the GDR texts discussed earlier. The difference between the GDR and the FRG examples lies in the fact that while the former prescribes a specific fact that is to be remembered, and while this occurs as part of the running text, the latter prescribes its view outside the main body of the text, and the things that "must be known" are presented in a very general way in the form of Stichwörter. The text following the subtitle deals with wage agreements, arbitration, strikes and lockouts in a general way, and then presents quotations from Der Spiegel dealing with an actual strike, reporting what happened and the reactions of the employers. The section ends with an emphasis on the constitutional guarantee of the right to strike. At least two points of view are given in the body of the text, and no final judgement is made by the authors.

8.3.5 Rhetorical and "prompting" questions

Rhetorical questions are rare in the FRG texts, as discussed in the section on text-typology above. Two examples that do occur are the following, taken from an extract from Die Zeit on the problems encountered by retired people:

90 Wie sollen aber Menschen, die bis zur Pensionierung nur
 als Produzenten akzeptiert waren, bei der Pensionierung
 plötzlich individuelles Glück im Hobbybereich finden, wie
 dies immer propagiert wird? (G&P, p 217)

- 91 Von einem auf den anderen Tag soll er plötzlich freie Entfaltung pflegen. Wie denn? (G&P, p 217)

These questions are addressed to the readership at large, both to prompt them to try and think of answers and to suggest that these answers are difficult to find and largely negative.

In TP we find the following subheading which serves as an introduction to a new section:

- 92 Wer bestimmt in einer Rundfunkanstalt? (TP, p 147)

The presupposition is clearly that someone is in charge. The section itself is very short, dealing with the Intendant, who is "für die Leitung verantwortlich", the governing council, political parties and other interest groups represented on the board, and journalists. The question posed in the heading is not answered directly, and the conclusion seems to be that there is and should be a balance of interests with no-one in overall control, since:

- 93 Gewinnt eine Richtung die Vorherrschaft, dann ist auch in diesen und durch diese öffentlich-rechtlichen Anstalten die Freiheit der Information und Kommunikation gefährdet. (TP, p 147) (emphasis in original)

Such questions are more common in the GDR texts and serve a different purpose (see the section on text-typology above). The following can be answered easily from the text:

- 94 Wie löste Marx dieses schwierige Problem? (9/23)

- 95 Was sind das für Jugendliche, die teilweise schon mit 18 Jahren als junge Abgeordnete über die Geschicke ihres Territoriums mitentscheiden? (8/86)

- 96 Warum kann nur die Arbeiterklasse diese Kraft entwickeln und die Führung in diesem revolutionären Kampf übernehmen? (9/45)

The rhetorical questions here serve more as subheadings than as problematisations; the presuppositions in the first and third examples above are clear, and it is the task of the text to confirm them and provide more details. The FRG texts use rhetorical questions more as a device to indicate a dilemma to which there are no clearcut answers, whilst those in the GDR texts can be read almost as statements of fact.

8.4 Presupposition and implication

The issue of presupposition has already been mentioned briefly in connection with problematisation, and clearly the two issues are complementary and ultimately inseparable. We feel, however, in view of the aims of the present investigation, that a discussion of what is left implicit in a text is equally as important as what is foregrounded. We use the term "presupposition" as meaning that which is taken for granted and not problematised, and "implication" as that which would logically follow but is not made explicit. These two features are often difficult to distinguish absolutely, and for this reason we deal with them together.

We present here a small number of isolated examples that occur periodically throughout both sets of texts; whilst many presuppositions reflect generally accepted facts of life or social aims, others reveal attitudes that would be less ideologically acceptable if made explicit, but which, through being absorbed unconsciously by the pupils and not being questioned, are intended to contribute to the development in the pupils of the worldview which the educationists regard as desirable. On some occasions the presuppositions in the texts reveal contradictions or inconsistencies in logic which may be indicative of problematic areas in the ideology itself.

Presuppositions are important because they affect the perception of the receiver and can, if not questioned, be misleading; in most cases this is of only trivial significance, but in the context of political language the leaving unquestioned of implicit beliefs can have far-reaching effects (see for example Seelig (1969:77); Hornby (1974); Bar-Lev (1975); Bachem (1979:98f); G Lakoff (N D)). These can result from the connotations of terminology used (see Henle (1958:125f); Riesel (1967:326f)), or simply from the failure to question or challenge the type of language used, particularly scientific or pseudo-scientific jargon (see Hornby (1974:537); Edelman (1977:110f)). Both German states condemn the failure to "expose" such presuppositions (see for example Hartung (1969:489); Scholwin (1971:321); Schmitt (1978:39)), but since such usage is typical of propagandistic language it is unlikely that either state will completely avoid the use of such language.

Presuppositions are commonly couched in evaluative terminology that is not itself questioned or problematised; we have mentioned this above in connection with an FRG discussion of advertising: the judgement contained in the terms Tricks, angereizt etc is not foregrounded in any way, and will probably be accepted unquestioningly by the reader. Similarly, in a discussion of Soziale Schicht und Sozialisation and the different ways of treating children in middle-class and working-class homes, the presupposition is clearly that the middle-class method is better: phrases such as sprechen häufiger, geben häufiger Erklärungen, begründen ausführlich, machen klar, all of which are positively evaluative and refer to the middle-class context, contrast with the following negative working-class features: kurze, unbegründete Verbote, stumme oder drohende Gesten, körperliche Züchtigung (TP, p 121). The working environment of working class parents is described thus:

97 Unterschichteltern erfahren in der Arbeitswelt täglich, daß sie sich in untergeordneter Stellung Anweisungen von Vorgesetzten unterwerfen müssen. (TP, p 121)

This is simply accepted here and not discussed or explained; it is dealt with elsewhere in more detail, and reasons, but no solutions are suggested. By failing to discuss the reasons for the situation here the authors are implicitly endorsing it and denying that any improvements are necessary. This type of unquestioning acceptance of a view or prescription of an opinion on the part of the authors is rare in the FRG texts.

We have already dealt in some detail with the issue of emotive terminology in the GDR texts, and with the fact that the texts rarely problematise either topics or language. The examples given here corroborate those findings.

98 Gemeinsam mit den Großgrundbesitzern waren die Monopolverherren die Hauptschuldigen für die Errichtung der faschistischen Diktatur in Deutschland und für die Entfesselung des zweiten Weltkrieges. (7/28)

No reasons are given for the bald statement made here; this is a basic tenet of the ideology that may not be questioned, and upon which other ideological beliefs are to be built. Similarly:

99 Alle Beschlüsse der SED sind darauf gerichtet, das Leben des werktätigen Volkes zu verbessern. (8/20)

This statement is simply to be taken as true; no examples are given to substantiate it. The sentence is the last in a section entitled Die Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands - Vortrupp der Arbeiter-

klasse und aller anderen Werktätigen in der DDR, which extends over two and a half pages. The final sentence is prefigured half a page earlier in the sentence:

- 100 Auf dem Vereinigungsparteitag der KPD und SPD stellte die Partei die Aufgabe, die Arbeiter und alle Werktätigen von Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung, von Krisen, Armut und Arbeitslosigkeit zu befreien. (8/19)

Apart from this the section deals exclusively with the composition and running of the party, and its political aims; its social aims are reserved virtually exclusively for the final sentence, which is not followed up in the next section, and which simply has to be accepted on trust for want of exemplification. This sentence and the one below are ultimately untestable, at least in the context of the schoolbooks:

- 101 In der BRD sind starke Kräfte am Werk, die nach der Unterzeichnung der Verträge zwischen der Sowjetunion, der Volksrepublik Polen, der CSSR und der DDR mit der BRD gegen dieses Vertragswerk Sturm laufen und es wiederrückgängig machen wollen. (10/57)

Whilst this statement may have limited validity, the imprecise phrase starke Kräfte is clearly intended to suggest that many people are involved, and that they may well succeed. There is no possibility for the reader to test this statement or discover to what extent it is true: no footnote reference is given for further reading, and the fact that no precise statistics are given ensures that the sentence is unassailable.

A similar feature is found in the two examples below, which present statements of belief and ideological doctrine as statements of fact; again, these sentences are not questioned or relativised in any way elsewhere in the schoolbooks:

- 102 Je besser die Arbeiter und alle Werktätigen die sozialistische Rationalisierung meistern, desto mehr lebenswichtige Güter werden produziert und um so positiver wird sich das auf ihr Leben auswirken. (7/50)
- 103 Die Übereinstimmung ihrer eigenen persönlichen Interessen und Ziele mit den Interessen und Zielen der gesamten Gesellschaft veranlassen die Werktätigen, immer größere Produktionsleistungen zu vollbringen. (7/67)

Presupposition is commonly expressed with the aid of evaluative adjectives, which again are more common in the GDR texts than in the FRG ones. In the following example, the text presents the interests of the workers as uniform, because this is what the ideology states:

104 Folgten wir solchen "Empfehlungen", würde das un-
weigerlich dazu führen, die einheitliche Volkswirt-
schaft und die einheitlichen Interessen der Arbeiter-
klasse zu zersplittern . . . (10/99)

This presents a simplification of reality that would not necessarily be universally acceptable, but here it is presented as an unquestionable fact and is likely to be read as such. The following is a rare example of the same feature found in the FRG texts:

105 Außerdem kann das für das wirtschaftliche Wachstum
entscheidende Verhältnis von Konsum und Investition
nicht beliebig verschoben werden. (G&P, p 168)

Here entscheidend is evaluative without being emotive, a feature which is common in the GDR texts; no reason is given for this statement, or as to why the relationship is entscheidend at all. This topic has not been discussed in any detail in earlier sections, and so cannot be regarded as a summary of something that has gone earlier. In fact, three pages earlier we find the statement that "Durch Sparen und Investieren entsteht Kapital" (G&P, p 165). Sparen here is equated with Konsumverzicht and the apparent contradiction between these two statements is not foregrounded or discussed in any way.

Whilst this is a fairly small and relatively unimportant point, the GDR sentence below contains terminology that is central to the ML ideology, as are the beliefs transmitted by it:

106 Dieses Klassenbewußtsein, in dessen Zentrum die wissen-
schaftliche Erkenntnis von der Gesetzmäßigkeit der
gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung und von der historischen
Mission der Arbeiterklasse steht, kann bei den Arbeitern
nicht durch bloße Lebenserfahrungen entstehen. (9/35)

Here wissenschaftlich is again positively evaluative and refers to central tenets of ML that are unquestioned. In this sentence Wissenschaftlichkeit and Gesetzmäßigkeit form part of the same closed system and are mutually defining: the science of ML teaches about the laws of social development, and the system of laws of social development is part of scientific ML. This kind of circular argument which is ultimately untestable against objective reality is common in the GDR texts. Moreover, in this example the juxtaposition of wissenschaftlich and Erkenntnis is unusual - the modifier is adverbial rather than adjectival and refers more to the state of mind and method of investigation of those involved than to the nature of the realisation itself. Wissenschaftlichkeit is central to ML teaching and is always positively evaluative; it seems that it is included here more as a result of this positive colouring than as a result of its denotative

content.

Other presuppositions and implications related to authorial attitude are illustrated in the examples below.

- 107 Die Bindung aller an die Wirtschaftspläne lässt eine private Verfügungsgewalt über Produktionsmittel nicht zu.
(TP, p 129)

This sentence is ambiguous with regard to agency, ie whether everyone binds themselves voluntarily to the plan, or whether they are bound by some other, unnamed, agent. Since this is an FRG text this ambiguity could be deliberate and calculated to imply that while the governments of centrally administered states may claim that the ties are voluntary, this is in fact not the case. As the sentence stands the issue of voluntariness/compulsion is left unresolved; its juxtaposition with a negated private Verfügungsgewalt über Produktionsmittel, a central tenet of social market economies which has just been discussed and evaluated as basically positive, implies however that the agency of Bindung is similarly negative.

The following sentence is from another FRG discussion of centrally planned economies:

- 108 Die Sphäre. . . der Freiheit und der Selbstverantwortung wird also enger begrenzt. (G&P, p 182)

This sentence occurs in a 19-line extract in which the concept of central planning is not connected with any particular state, but is discussed only in abstract terms. The extract immediately preceding it emphasises the intimate link between centralism and socialism (8), so the negative evaluation contained in the sentence quoted, arising from the erosion of freedom, is likely to be associated by the reader with socialism, thus leading to a negative evaluation of this too (9). Whilst this fact in isolation would point to an (at least temporary) antisocialist bias in the FRG text, the section on central planning contains a third extract in addition to those mentioned, which tempers the negative view of planning arising out of the first two by stating:

- 109 In allen westlichen Industrieländern plant auch der Staat.
(G&P, p 182)

Whilst a distinction is drawn between state- and privately-run enterprises, the association of planning with non-socialist economies is clearly intended to "defuse" the negative evaluations presented first, and to alter the perspective on the whole issue of economic planning.

110 Gestützt auf die Theorie des ML, zeigte (die KPD) den Weg, der aus der Katastrophe herausführt. (7/20)

Here the use of the definite article with Weg precludes any question as to the correctness of the way chosen; as so often in ML teaching, there is only one correct answer to a problem, and the party unerringly chooses this one solution.

111 (Die Arbeiter) halfen dadurch, die vom Kapitalismus verursachte Rückständigkeit auf dem Lande zu überwinden. (7/27)

This is another drastic simplification of historical events with which the reader is not invited to take issue. The device of depicting agency in a prenominal modifying phrase and the consequent lack of problematisation reduces the likelihood of the readers questioning it or regarding it as in any way controversial. Here again the authors are transmitting the accepted ideological interpretation of history, and the task of the pupils is to learn it.

The following examples present authorial comment and presuppositions through modal verbs:

112 Uneingeschränkt kann (die Arbeiterklasse) sich für das gesellschaftliche Eigentum an Produktionsmitteln einsetzen. (9/48)

The presupposition here is that the working class wants to do this, ie that they share the desire "prescribed" in the official ideology that the working class believes in social ownership of this kind.

The following FRG example is similar:

113 (Der einzelne) selbst entscheidet darüber, was er verbrauchen oder wieviel er in welche Produktion investieren will. (TP, p 127)

Here will presupposes ability, that each individual has capital to use in this way. Both these examples present a view of reality that is ideologically acceptable and desirable, but which represents a distortion, or at least a simplification, of the actual situation. Both imply that all the people mentioned share the same beliefs and abilities.

Whilst the FRG text reiterates several times that it is dealing with a theoretical rather than an actual system, and that this "pure" situation must per se contain simplifications, no rider of this sort is included in the GDR text, which stresses throughout the unity and determination of the working class and contains no suggestion that reality may not be as straightforward and uniform as this implies (10).

The grammatical structure of the following sentence is revealing as to the perception of reality of the authors:

- 114 Die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit der gesamtstaatlichen Leitung und Planung der Wirtschaft ergibt sich aus dem sozialistischen Eigentum an den Produktionsmitteln. (10/98)

Here the use of a singular verb with a plural subject shows clearly that the two components of the subject are regarded as a unit, not even as two aspects of the same thing. It is not clear which of them has primacy or which, if either, is dependent on the other; this is a "chicken and egg" situation of mutual dependence and definition. Again, no real explanation is offered as to why these things are necessary and how they are made possible.

The following is an illustration of the way presuppositions and implications can colour a text without the writer stating anything explicitly, and how they may in fact reveal attitudes in direct contradiction to those that he is trying to express. The texts discussed are G&P, p 205-6, and GDR book 7, p 65; both deal with the position of women in contemporary society.

- 115 Die Frau ist danach als Hausfrau wie alle anderen Familienmitglieder vom Einkommen des arbeitenden Ehemannes abhängig. (G&P, p 205)

Here the meaning of als Hausfrau is ambiguous as to whether it is a general definition of the typical woman or whether it means "if she is". The sentence seems to imply that most women will (want to) be housewives. The wife plus the children are defined as Familienmitglieder whilst the husband, by virtue of his role as breadwinner, is seen as separate; moreover, the text takes for granted that the man will work and that he will be the major earner. The information focus of the sentence falls on the final word, abhängig, which is the defining attribute of the woman. The man in this context is referred to specifically as der Ehemann, whilst the woman is simply die Frau: there is no need to state that she is married, since being someone's wife is the main and normal task of a woman, whilst men are not normally thought of in their role as partners in a marriage.

- 116 Alle Menschen sind vor dem Gesetz gleich. (G&P, p 205)

This extract from the Grundgesetz implies that there may be a discrepancy between what the law states and what happens in reality.

- 117 Die Frau führt den Haushalt in eigener Verantwortung. (G&P, p 205)

This is a quotation from the Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch. As in sentence 115, the use of the definite article with Frau makes what is said into a generalisation that is universally applicable. Here the woman alone is responsible for running the home, which would appear to justify the position of those men who refuse to do any housework! Whilst this statement may approximate closely to real life, in that the majority of homes are looked after by women, the issue of Verantwortung is less clearcut, with many men regarding themselves as in ultimate charge of what happens in the home. The sentence thus presents a distortion of reality, in that it attributes to women an authority they do not necessarily have, while at the same time suggesting that this is an ideal situation which should be striven for.

- 118 Männer . . . stellen sich von Anfang an auf ein mindestens bis zur Pensionierung dauerndes Erwerbsleben ein, Frauen dagegen typischerweise auf eine enger befristete Arbeitsexistenz . . . (G&P, p 206)

Here men represent the norm with which women are compared. The contrast between Erwerbsleben and Arbeitsexistenz reveals the expectation that work done by men is positive and fruitful, bringing gain, whilst that done by women is simple drudgery. These presuppositions may reflect the beliefs of the people involved in the work themselves, as well as of the author of this extract of text and of society as a whole.

- 119 Nur jede Fünfte von den ledigen Frauen will bis zur Pensionierung selbst Verdiennerin sein. (G&P, p 206)

The modality of nur here reveals that the writers do not regard this as very many, although 20% may be regarded as a considerable proportion. No details are given as to where this figure was obtained, and so it is untestable. In fact, in this sentence a large number of women are stating that they wish to be defined by what they do and regarded primarily as agents (Verdiennerin), rather than as an adjunct to a building (Hausfrau) (11).

Whilst the authors of G&P themselves make no comment at all during this discussion, but simply present a series of extracts for the pupils to work with alone, the presuppositions contained in the extracts chosen may well cause the readers to regard the traditional sex roles depicted in them as universally and eternally valid. Whilst many may challenge the material, the teacher's guidance is needed if

some are not to be misled. The section goes on to deal with the problems of women at work, what they do when the children have left home, and the low status of housewives. Suggestions are made as to changes in legislation that could be made, but the underlying attitudes of men and women to work and to each other are not problematised at all. The next section in G&P deals with Probleme der Rollenerziehung, which goes some way to resolving problems thrown up by the section on women at work.

120 Im Sozialismus wurde die Forderung der Arbeiterklasse nach der Gleichberechtigung der Frau verwirklicht. (7/65)

In this sentence the agent is deleted and irrecoverable; the implication, however, is that the working class is responsible for the change that has been effected. The use of the imperfect passive suggests that the process is finished and the problem solved, a state of affairs that is, however, called into question later in the same passage (12). The working class as a whole is said to have demanded equal rights for women, and the implication is that it was they who ensured that this demand was fulfilled; this is clearly a simplification of actual events, since any legislation needs approval by the Party. Whilst the Party itself is not mentioned in this sentence, it is implicitly made synonymous with the working class and the actual pattern of agency and initiation is obfuscated.

121 Im Kapitalismus muß die Frau nach wie vor um gleichen Lohn für gleiche Arbeit und um gleiche Bildungsmöglichkeiten, wie sie dem Manne offenstehen, kämpfen. (7/65)

The MV können implicit in Bildungsmöglichkeiten here makes the situation appear worse than it actually is, and equality in education as being further away and more difficult to achieve than may actually be the case.

122 Sie sind im Beruf, im gesellschaftlichen Leben, in der Freizeit und in Ehe und Familie dem Manne gleichberechtigt. (7/65)

Here women in general are compared with a single generic man - this may however be a simple slip of the pen which reveals a fault in style rather than any ideological presuppositions. The list of places and contexts in which women are said to be equal to men (it is noteworthy that men are again presented as the norm with which it is desirable for all members of society to conform) forces one to ask (a) whether there are other contexts in which they are not equal,

which would be contrary to what has just been stated, and (b) whether the list represents any kind of order of precedence. Whilst four major areas of life are mentioned, it is remarkable that education is not, in view of what has been said regarding the position of women students in the FRG. It is stated here that women are gleichberechtigt; however, this does not necessarily mean that they are gleich in real terms. The suspicion that there is again a discrepancy here between theory and practice is reawakened later in the text:

123 Mehr als ein Drittel aller Abgeordneten in den Volksvertretungen und etwa ein Zehntel aller Bürgermeister sind Frauen. Jeder 4. Schuldirektor ist eine Frau.
(7/65)

Here the figures given are very imprecise - mehr als ein Drittel could be anything from 34%-49%, but is at any rate less than a half; similarly, etwa ein Zehntel is impossible to quantify accurately, and no references are given as to where these statistics were obtained to enable the reader to check them. There is, moreover, no breakdown into the proportions of women in jobs at each level of administration, or details of the number of women in the population as a whole. The figures as they stand are virtually meaningless, but the way in which they are presented clearly reveals the attitude the authors wish the readers to adopt towards them: mehr als ein Drittel suggests that the figure is higher than it may actually be, whilst jeder 4. sounds much more impressive than 25% or ein Viertel. When one takes into account the fact that over 9 million out of a population of 17 million are women, ie well over a half, and that 68% of teachers in schools are women, these figures appear in a far less favourable light (13). Moreover, the fact that men and male dominance is still regarded as the true norm despite legislation to the contrary is revealed in the way women are seen here in men's roles, as Bürgermeister and Schuldirektoren.

As with the FRG text, the impression gained from a close reading of the GDR text is that, whilst women may have equal rights in law, they are still in a subordinate position in real life. The FRG text discusses this problem, without attempting to suggest any solutions, but the GDR text pretends that it does not exist and shapes its language accordingly. Both texts can be seen on this level to be stating the opposite of what they set out to say, ie that women and men are equal.

8.5 Case studies in testability

Whilst we have seen that reference to other contemporary ML sources confirms and reinforces the factual and syntactic information given in the GDR school books, and thus provides the reader with a cohesive and harmonious picture of the world, it is possible through reference to historical documents to trace the chronological development of the presentation of topics through the medium of language and to discuss the way in which the linguistic realisation of reality can become the linguistic creation of reality, how the depiction of processes can change in accordance with and in order to depict an ideologically desirable view of reality. Ellul writes in this regard as follows:

In most cases, propaganda can change or modify (ideological) content as long as it respects such formal and customary aspects of the ideology as its image and vocabulary. (Ellul (1973:196))

Schoolchildren in the GDR are given one particular version of historical events in their textbooks, and any other contemporary texts which they consult will give them the same information from the same ideological standpoint. If, however, the pupils had access to older or foreign documents they might well find a different version of events. In this section we compare the versions of three events given in the GDR school books with versions of the same events given in western texts and in GDR texts contemporary with the events themselves. We do this largely by looking at patterns of agency and initiation, and also some causality and the whole issue of obfuscation, with the aim of demonstrating firstly how ideology can alter history to suit itself, and secondly to illustrate the closed universe of the GDR school books by showing what they do not contain. The examples we take are the founding of the GDR, the building of the Berlin Wall, and the land reform.

8.5.1 The founding of the GDR

The founding of the GDR is described in the school textbooks thus:

- 124 Die antifaschistisch-demokratische Ordnung im Osten Deutschlands, die bis dahin wichtigste revolutionäre Errungenschaft des Kampfes der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Verbündeten gegen das deutsche Monopolkapital, war nunmehr so weit entwickelt und gefestigt, daß jetzt zur Gründung

eines Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Staates geschritten werden konnte. Dieser Staat ist seinem Wesen nach eine Diktatur des Proletariats und ein Ausdruck des Sieges der Arbeiterklasse über das Monopolkapital. Mit seiner Schaffung grenzte sich die Arbeiterklasse auch staatlich vom Monopolkapital ab, von dem sie früher ausgebeutet und unterdrückt worden war. Am 7. Oktober 1949 erfolgte die Gründung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (DDR). Die Provisorische Volkskammer der DDR konstituierte sich. Getragen von dem Vertrauen und dem Willen der Werktätigen, nahm sie das Gesetz über die Bildung der Regierung einstimmig an und setzte die erste Verfassung unserer Republik in Kraft. Zum ersten Ministerpräsidenten der DDR wurde Otto Grotewohl berufen. (7/33-4, emphasis in original)

The agentive and causal patterns in this extract are clearly intended to depict the process as harmonious, automatic and universally approved; the actual sequence of events and details of who acted on what occasion are, however, fudged through the use of impersonal verbs and deleted agency: es konnte geschritten werden, die Gründung erfolgte, Grotewohl wurde berufen. The involvement and approval of the mass of the population is implied through nominalisations: Diktatur des Proletariats, der Sieg der Arbeiterklasse, Willen und Vertrauen der Werktätigen.

The use of reflexives is also interesting, as in the example below:

die Arbeiterklasse grenzte sich ab:

The group is clearly presented as the agent here, but the sentence is ambiguous as to whether the Arbeiterklasse is also to be read as the agent of Schaffung. Similarly:

Die provisorische Volkskammer konstituierte sich.

There is no mention here of the involvement of anyone else, and the sentence could be read as suggesting that possibly people were not involved actively to the degree that has been hitherto implied.

Moreover, the use of the reflexive verb excludes any other group or event from having any influence on the action, such as for example Russian occupation troops, foreign communist parties or the founding of the Federal Republic.

The version of events presented above contrasts in several respects with western sources. Rausch and Stammen (1974) (in a text admittedly intended for adult readers and thus both more detailed and more complex) mention the formation of the SED and the subordination to it of other political parties in the eastern zone, the beginning of the

Cold War, the Volkskongreß of March 1948 and the Volksrat elected by it as all contributing to the foundation of the GDR. They point out that the results of a popular vote were to a certain extent predetermined, and continue:

- 125 Zugleich konstituierte sich der Deutsche Volksrat - "angesichts der schweren nationalen Notlage, wie sie durch die Gründung der amerikanischen McCloy-Republik in Bonn entstand" - als "Provisorische Deutsche Volkskammer". Ursprünglich vorgesehene Wahlen zu dieser Volkskammer wurden um ein Jahr verschoben. Schließlich setzte der Deutsche Volksrat die vom Dritten Volkskongreß beschlossene Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik in Kraft und beauftragte Otto Grotewohl "mit der Bildung einer demokratischen deutschen Regierung". (Rausch and Stammen (1974:32))

Whilst this extract contains at the beginning the same syntactic construction as the GDR version, it contains important points that are not mentioned in the GDR text and places events in a different causal framework. Siegler similarly points to the lack of popular involvement in the election of the government and its subsequent activities (Siegler (1967:14)), and also places the founding of the GDR in the context of the Cold War and the founding of the FRG.

The version of events presented in the GDR text, while clearly having to be simplified for a juvenile readership, is a good example of the ideologically motivated reinterpretation of historical events, in which precise causal relationships are glossed over in the interests of conformity to accepted teachings, and where contextual features are modified in order to present a picture which satisfies ideological prerequisites. This is not to suggest that FRG texts and schoolbooks in particular are free from such ideological transformations: Greiffenhagen and Hättich's Sozialkunde describes the origins of the SED and the GDR as follows:

- 126 Das beginnende politische Leben wurde sofort von Kommunisten aus der russischen Emigration bestimmt. Der Bevölkerung mußten diese als Erfüllungsgehilfen der gefürchteten Besatzungsmacht erscheinen. Sie hatten von vornherein ein klares Ziel: Aufbau einer kommunistischen Gesellschaftsordnung, zumindest in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone. Der zu erwartende starke Widerstand der Bevölkerung und die noch ungeklärte Zukunft des deutschen Staates zwang sie, vorsichtig vorzugehen und die wahren Ziele vorerst zu verschleiern . . . In geschickter Taktik und mit der Macht der Sowjets erzwang (die KPD) . . . 1946 den Zusammenschluß mit der SPD der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone zur "Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands". In Anlehnung an die stalinistische KPdSU wurde die SED 1949 neu organisiert . . .

Mit großem Propagandaaufwand empfahl sich die SED als Vorkämpferin der Arbeiter und Bauern. (Greiffenhagen and Hättich (1979:156-7))

8.5.2 The building of the Berlin Wall

GDR book 7 depicts the building of the Berlin Wall as an essentially pacific response to the actions of a war-mongering West:

127 Da setzte die DDR in Übereinstimmung mit ihren Verbündeten des Warschauer Vertrages zum Gegenschlag an! Am 13. August 1961 wurde die offene Grenze nach Westberlin geschlossen und unter Kontrolle gebracht. Das war eine große historische Leistung. In einer Nacht traten die Werktätigen unserer Republik, unterstützt von ihren sowjetischen Klassengenossen, den schon schwelenden Kriegsfunken aus und retteten den Frieden in Europa . . . Die Errichtung des antifaschistischen Schutzwalles in Berlin führte auch zur Festigung des Sozialismus in der DDR und in den sozialistischen Bruderstaaten. Der Ausplünderung über die offene Grenze war ein Riegel vorgeschoben worden. Auch im Denken der Menschen vollzogen sich wichtige Veränderungen. Viele Bürger, die vor dem 13. August 1961 unter dem direkten Druck imperialistischer Propaganda und Machenschaften unsicher geworden waren, erkannten, daß ihre persönliche Zukunft und die ihrer Familien eng mit der DDR und der Stärkung des Sozialismus verbunden war. Durch die Sicherung der Staatsgrenze der DDR zur BRD und durch große ökonomische Leistungen der Werktätigen in Stadt und Land wurden die ökonomischen Grundlagen in der DDR gefestigt. (7/82-3)

Here the GDR is presented as the initiator and main agent of the action, whilst western sources state that on June 15th Ulbricht explicitly denied that anyone had any intention of building a wall, and that the SED acted only under pressure from outside (see for example Rausch and Stammen (1974:43)) (14).

Few western sources connect the building of the Berlin Wall with the cause of world peace, as does the GDR school book, although Grosser admits that "the GDR rulers . . . chose the course that appeared least threatening to world peace" (Grosser (1970:402)).

The effects of the building of the Wall are also described differently in western texts; whilst many admit that it helped stabilise the economy of the GDR (see for example Grosser (1970:402f); Rausch and Stammen (1974:44f)), most do not agree that the great number of people leaving East Berlin for the west prior to the building of the

wall was due to Ausplünderung, Verlockung und Erpressung, Wirtschafts-sabotage und Währungsschwindel. (7/81), although Grosser refers to "a press campaign in West Berlin" (Grosser (1970:402)). Adenauer perceived the reason for "Republikflucht" as follows:

- 128 Der gesamten Weltöffentlichkeit wurde durch die Massenflucht aus der Zone tagtäglich gezeigt, unter welchem Druck die Bewohner stehen und daß ihnen das in der ganzen Welt anerkannte Selbstbestimmungsrecht nicht gewährt wird. (Siegler (1967:231))

Brandt reacted to the building of the Wall as quoted below, clearly suggesting that the FRG was simply upholding human rights:

- 129 Die Charta der Menschenrechte der UN verbürgt die Freizügigkeit über die Grenzen der Staaten hinweg. Die durch den Ostblock gestützten Machthaber der Sowjetzone verbieten den Deutschen, sich von Deutschland nach Deutschland zu begeben; sie rauben Berlinern die Bewegungsfreiheit in ihrer eigenen Stadt. (Siegler (1967:232))

Western sources are silent on the psychological effects on citizens of the GDR of the building of the wall, although Brandt spoke at the time of "die Bedrücker Ostberlins" (Siegler (1967:232)), but they attribute the dramatic fall in the number of people leaving East Berlin (200 000 in 1960, 1 203 in 1968 (see Grosser (1970:402))) to other causes:

- 130 (Die Maßnahmen des 13. August 1961) zwangen die Bevölkerung Mitteldeutschlands durch Beseitigung der Fluchtmöglichkeit nach West-Berlin auch im Falle politischer oder persönlicher Schwierigkeiten zum Bleiben. Die Einwohner der DDR mußten sich mit dem bestehenden Herrschaftssystem abfinden. (Rausch and Stammen (1974:44))

To a cynical reader the "realisation" mentioned in the GDR school text could be taken as a note of black humour, suggesting that the close tie to the GDR was not emotively or politically based, but on fear.

Neither G&P nor TP mentions the founding of the GDR, and G&P mentions the building of the wall only en passant (G&P, p 123).

8.5.3 The land-reform in the GDR

The land-reform is dealt with in GDR book 7, p 25-8. It is presented as being carried out on the initiation of the KPD, with the help of the industrial workers to the benefit of the farmers; the farmers themselves are rarely the agent of a process and at this stage do not, and as a result of historical development cannot, act spontaneously or

independently:

- 131 Eine der wichtigsten Forderungen im Aufruf der KPD vom 11. Juni 1945 war die Entmachtung der Großgrundbesitzer, die Durchführung einer demokratischen Bodenreform . . . Diese Forderung der Partei entsprach den Interessen der Landarbeiter und werktätigen Bauern, die unter der Herrschaft der Großgrundbesitzer besonders zu leiden hatten.

After the original demand for a reform has been presented in this way, the patterns of agency and initiation become less clear and unequivocal, as the attempt is made to reconcile historical fact (the Party as initiator, the farmers as affected entity with little choice in the matter) with an ideologically desirable picture of events: the vanguard party showing the farmers where their best interests lie, and working together with them to achieve them. Thus we read:

- 132 Bauernversammlungen fanden statt.

The initiators and agents of the process involved here have been replaced by a nominalised verb; the causal relationships of who did what to whom are not mentioned.

- 133 Die Vertreter der KPD hatten den Entwurf einer Verordnung über die Bodenreform ausgearbeitet und mit den anderen antifaschistisch-demokratischen Parteien sowie in zahllosen Versammlungen mit Landarbeitern und Bauern beraten.

Here the initiators of the process are clear, but the precise meaning of beraten is not: the reader is not told how much questioning or alteration of the draft was allowed, or precisely what role the other groups involved played.

- 134 Indem die Arbeiter gemeinsam mit den werktätigen Bauern die Bodenreform durchführten, festigte sich das Bündnis zwischen ihnen.

The intention here is to show joint activity of the workers and the farmers, but this picture is belied by the syntax: the workers are the main agents of the process, and the farmers are simply adjuncts.

The sentence below is similar:

- 135 Viele Arbeiter gingen aufs Land, um gemeinsam mit den Landarbeitern und Kleinbauern die Herrschaft der Großgrundbesitzer endgültig zu brechen.

The agency patterns in these sentences contrast with those in the following extract, which forms the concluding paragraph and summary to this section of the book:

- 136 Mit der demokratischen Bodenreform überwandten die Arbeiter und Bauern im Osten Deutschlands die Herrschaft der Junker und Großgrundbesitzer auf dem Lande. Mit ihr begann die demokratische Umgestaltung des Dorfes. Das gemeinsame Handeln von Arbeitern und werktätigen Bauern bei der Bodenreform festigte das Bündnis zwischen ihnen.

Here the workers and farmers are joint agents of the processes,

occupying the same syntactic position. This extract represents an abstraction from actual events which have been condensed into an ideologically desirable formula.

The inferior position of the farmers, both syntactic and actual, as described above is also seen in the following sentences, in which the farmers are the beneficiaries or affected entities of the processes involved, rather than the agents:

- 137 Über 336 000 Landarbeiter, Kleinbauern, Umsiedler und Pächter erhielten mehr als 6 Millionen ha Land.
- 138 Jeder Neubauer bekam eine Wirtschaftshilfe von 2500 Mark.
- 139 Die Arbeiter dieser Betriebe halfen vorrangig den Neubauern zu günstigen Tarifen bei der Bestellung und Pflege der Felder . . .

At no point is there any suggestion in the GDR text of any reluctance on the part of the farmers to accept the workers' promptings to act. This forms an interesting conceptual and linguistic contrast with the FRG version of events quoted below, where the farmers do not see any need to confiscate the land, and the speaker distances himself from those who carried out this process. It is unclear whether sie here refers to the ML Party or another group outside the community of farmers, or whether it is being used in the more general sense of man; whichever is the case, the speaker is not included:

- 140 Die meisten von uns fragten also, wieso wir dem das Land wegnehmen sollten. Und der Fremde sagte, der Junker habe uns das Land gestohlen oder unseren Vätern abgegaunert, und wenn wir wollten, daß man ihn enteigne, werde sofort ein Gesetz gemacht, denn Junkerland müsse in Bauernhand. Und zwei Monate danach haben sie den Gutsbesitzer davongejagt und sein Land aufgeteilt. (Schwarze (1970:166))

The suggestion here is that the process was initiated by the farmers, as is ideologically desirable; it is clear however that the actual initiator of the action was der Fremde. The extract does not explicitly state that the farmers responded to the external prompting, and thus suggests that the processes mentioned would have taken place anyway with or without their desiring it. Here again the farmers are in an inferior position both in terms of power and in terms of their ability to influence events, although the syntax of the stranger's statement is an attempt to disguise this and present the farmers as the initiators of action on the part of the government. The fact that the speaker still refers to der Gutsbesitzer, rather than pejoratively to der Junker,

suggests that he has not fully accepted the reasons given by the stranger for the land reform and that he may still regard the old order as acceptable.

Problems encountered during the land reform are hinted at in the school text but glossed over, as in the example below:

- 141 Durch den führenden Einfluß der Arbeiterklasse gelang es, die vielfältigen Sorgen und Wünsche, die Anklagen und Forderungen der Landbevölkerung in einer großen einheitlichen Bewegung zur Durchführung der Bodenreform zu vereinen. (7/25)

The syntax here contains many complex transformations. The referent of es gelang is deleted; whilst on a close reading die Arbeiterklasse suggests itself as the group most likely to fill this slot, the sentence as it stands elevates the process from the simple one of someone having success to a more abstract plane where success is generally pervasive and not specific to any one group. By this means the ideologically awkward question of who is the agent of vereinen is also avoided: the process is performed, but the agents are not specified. The nature of the problems involved is not expanded upon, and thus their significance is diminished.

The reaction of the landowners to the reform proposals is dealt with and dismissed in a comparably brief fashion:

- 142 Gutsbesitzer oder Gutsverwalter . . . versuchten durch Hetze und Drohungen, ihre Macht zu erhalten. Sie sabotierten die Bodenreform auf Schritt und Tritt . . . Mit Drohungen versuchten sie die Bauern, Landarbeiter und Umsiedler einzuschüchtern, damit sie sich nicht um Land bewarben. Doch alle diese Bemühungen waren vergebens. (7/27)

The intended affected entity of the actions of the landowners here are the farmers, not the working class; the latter are theoretically simply helpers in a process being performed by the farmers for their own good. The situation is similar in the sentences below, where the working class is not mentioned; here the land-reform has become an agent itself, with the farmers as the entity affected by it:

- 143 Die Bodenreform entsprach einmal dem Potsdamer Abkommen, indem sie die Wurzeln des Faschismus und Militarismus auf dem Lande ausrottete. Sie beseitigte zum anderen jahrhundertealtes Unrecht und machte diejenigen zu Besitzern des Bodens, die ihn auch bebauen. (7/28)

The disharmony discerned in this introductory section on the land

reform between two ideologically desirable pictures of, on the one hand, the working class helping the largely helpless farmers at the suggestion of the Party, and, on the other hand, of the farmers demanding and achieving what is rightly theirs, is also present in other sections of the school texts dealing with the land reform, and is dealt with in the following ways:

fudged or deleted agency:

- 144 Mit der Schaffung antifaschistisch-demokratischer Staatsorgane, mit der Durchführung der demokratischen Bodenreform, mit der Enteignung der Nazi- und Kriegsverbrecher und der demokratischen Erneuerung der Kultur und Ideologie unter Führung der Arbeiterklasse waren in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone neue Eigentums- und Machtverhältnisse geschaffen worden. (7/33)

joint agency:

- 143 Im gemeinsamen Vorgehen bei der Verwirklichung der Bodenreform hatten sich Arbeiter und werktätige Bauern immer enger zusammengeschlossen. (7/51)

the farmers as agents with the working class or the ML Party as the syntactic adjunct and actual initiator:

- 146 Während der Bodenreform und durch deren Ergebnisse erkannten die werktätigen Bauern so immer besser, daß sie nur unter Führung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei siegreich sein konnten. (7/51)

We refer here to our discussion above on the fudging of patterns of agency and initiation in phrases such as Das Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit den Genossenschaftsbauern.

In 1955 Ulbricht described the land reform thus:

- 147 Jetzt konnten nicht mehr Junker und Großbauern die werktätigen Bauern regieren, sondern die werktätigen Bauern nahmen selbst die Verantwortung in den Gemeinde- und Kreisverwaltungen in ihre Hände und bestimmten jetzt die Politik im Dorf in ihrem eigenen Interesse. (Deuerlein (1966:54))

Here the farmers are both agents and initiators, and no other groups are involved in what they are doing. One must bear in mind that the GDR is called the Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Staat, with agricultural and industrial workers at least apparently on the same footing. Clearly Ulbricht here is attempting to depict the farmers as just as able and politically aware as the industrial workers to determine their own destiny and act on their own initiative. The statement quoted above differs considerably from the one below, which was made ten years earlier:

- 148 Die Bodenreform muß die Liquidierung des feudal-junkerlichen Großgrundbesitzes gewährleisten und der Herrschaft der Junker und Großgrundbesitzer im Dorfe ein Ende bereiten . . . Durch

die Bodenreform soll der jahrhundertealte Traum der landlosen und landarmen Bauern von der Übergabe des Großgrundbesitzes in ihre Hände erfüllt werden. (Deuerlein (1966:51))

The prescriptive muß and soll in this extract from the KPD shows that the land reform is being carried through on the initiation of the KPD and is based on its political convictions; the farmers are merely the recipients of land, and their taking over of agricultural production is the result of the desires and dictates of a political party, and not of spontaneous action on their own part. This is illustrated later in the same extract:

149 Das Ziel der Bodenreform ist . . . neue, selbständige Bauernwirtschaften für landlose Bauern, Landarbeiter und kleine Pächter zu schaffen; an Umsiedler und Flüchtlinge, die durch die räuberische hitlerische Kriegspolitik ihr Hab und Gut verloren haben, Land zu geben . . . (Deuerlein (1966:52))

Although, as the above extracts illustrate, it was the KPD which first called for a land reform, after the amalgamation with the SPD the SED took credit itself for suggesting the land reform. The document quoted below is from the year 1946:

150 An der Spitze der demokratischen Aufbaukräfte organisierten wir entsprechend den Forderungen der Bauernschaft die demokratische Bodenreform. . . . Die Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands schuf durch die Bodenreform die Voraussetzungen für die ertragfördernde Pflege des Bodens . . . (Dokumente der SED; vol I:49) (Wahlaufruf zu den Gemeindewahlen 17 6 46)

Here the SED is the sole agent of the processes involved, although already at this early stage the farmers are presented as the initiators. It is not made clear in this document precisely who did what, although the SED is alternately the agent and the initiator of the various processes involved in carrying out the reform:

151 Sie rief auf zur Bestellung des Brachlandes. Sie sorgte für die Pflege und Sicherung des Saatgutes. Sie förderte die Vereinigung der gegenseitigen Bauernhilfe zur Sicherung unserer Ernährung. (Dokumente der SED, vol I:49) (15)

The quotation above, which depicts the SED responding to the initiation of the farmers, contrasts with the statement below made two months later, where the SED is the initiator of the process and also the joint, if not the sole agent, this last point being unclear due to deletion:

152 Bei der Entmachtung der Großgrundbesitzer in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone, bei der Zerschlagung der Konzerne und Truste, bei der Enteignung der Nazi- und Kriegsverbrecher wie bei der

Schulreform, kurz bei allem, was durch die Initiative der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands gemeinsam mit den anderen antifaschistisch-demokratischen Parteien geschaffen wurde, setzte die negative Kritik der SPD ein. (Dokumente der SED, vol I:84 (An alle Berliner Demokraten, 21 8 46)))

In a document drawn up a further two months later, in October 1946, all agents and initiators have been deleted and the processes have become self-generating and spontaneous, historically inevitable and unstoppable; we refer again to the ambiguous use of mit:

- 153 In der sowjetischen Besatzungszone wurde mit der demokratischen Bodenreform, mit der Enteignung der Kriegs- und Naziverbrecher den Junkern und dem Monopolkapital die Macht genommen. (Dokumente der SED, vol I:100 (Wahlauf-ruf der SED 17 10 46)))

It becomes clear from other documents from this period (16) that it is in fact the SED that is the initiator of all the major political processes, and that all the other groups in society act on the basis of this initiation:

- 154 Der selbständige Mittelstand in Landwirtschaft, Gewerbe und Handel ist in Gesetzgebung und Verwaltung zu fördern . . . Der Großgrundbesitz ist aufzulösen. Die durch die Bodenreform geschaffenen Eigentumsverhältnisse werden gewährleistet. (Dokumente der SED, vol I:94 (Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes 10 9 46)))

- 155 Es ist die Pflicht der Partei, unserem Volke dabei den Weg zu zeigen und als aktivste Kraft bei der Durchführung dieser Aufgaben zu wirken. (Dokumente der SED, vol I:160 (Zur Frühjahrsebestellung 14 2 47)))

In the following sentence from a 1947 document the farmers are clearly the affected entity:

- 156 In ihren (der Bevölkerung) Reihen stehen zahllose durch die Bodenreform eingesetzte Neubauern. (Dokumente der SED, vol I:168 (Schnell und gründlich helfen (25 3 47)) (17))

It was seen above that the problems involved in carrying out the land reform are attributed in the school book to reactionary landowners and are dismissed in a single sentence. GDR documents from this early period suggest that resistance to the reform was both more widespread and less easily dealt with than this: in 1946 the LDP complained that "die Bodenreform sich nicht in allen Dingen bewährt habe" (Dokumente der SED, vol I:107 (Aufruf an alle Neubauern und Umsiedler (14 10 46))). This statement is left deliberately vague by the SED and used as a basis for an appeal to the farmers. The problems hinted at here are

still present in 1951, just before the start of widespread collectivisation of agriculture:

- 157 Die Durchführung der Herbstsaat 1950 und der Winterfurche zeigt in einigen Teilen der Republik, besonders in Mecklenburg und Brandenburg, ernste Mängel in der Organisierung dieser Arbeiten . . . (Dokumente der SED, vol III:328 (Alle Kraft für die Erfüllung des Volkswirtschaftsplans 1951))

The process of collectivisation itself is presented in GDR book 7 thus:

- 158 Im Frühjahr des Jahres 1952 gründeten werktätige Bauern in der DDR die ersten landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften. Damit beschritten sie den Weg vom Ich zum Wir. Die ökonomischen Grundlagen und das Denken der Bauern waren für den Beginn des allmählichen, schrittweisen und freiwilligen Übergangs zur sozialistischen Landwirtschaft herangereift. (7/51)

Here the farmers are themselves the initiators of the process which they perform themselves as a result of historical necessity; no other groups are involved. The extract above stands at the beginning of a section on Die sozialistische Landwirtschaft der DDR and forms the basis of the first subsection, which is approximately 400 words in length. The second subsection begins as follows:

- 159 Die Partei der Arbeiterklasse leitete die sozialistische Umgestaltung der Landwirtschaft. Sie verfügte über einen durchdachten Plan zur Entwicklung und Festigung der LPG. Dieser Plan gründete sich auf die Hinweise von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und W I Lenin. (7/52)

Here the farmers are no longer the initiators, but there is a long "chain of command" from Marx onwards determining their actions. GDR sources from 1952 confirm this:

- 160 9-12. Juli - die 2. Parteikonferenz der SED fordert . . . eine Verwaltungs- und Justizreform sowie die freiwillige Kollektivierung in der Landwirtschaft . . .
20. August - Auf einer Beratung des ZK-Sekretariats mit den Kreissekretären der SED fordert Oelßner die verstärkte freiwillige Bildung von landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften . . . (Weber and Oldenbourg (1971))

The patterns of causality here are very similar to those in the FRG extract below:

- 161 Die SED hatte schon ein Jahr vor dem Aufstand die Bildung von landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften propagiert. Die Bauern könnten sich freiwillig zu LPGs zusammenschließen und ihr Ackerland sowie ihr Vieh als Anteile in die Genossenschaft einbringen, hieß die Parole . . . Doch bis auf einige Neubauern, die kurz vor der Pleite standen, und eine entsprechende Zahl Altbauern, denen wegen Nichterfüllung des Solls der Prozeß drohte, machte kaum jemand mit . . . (Schwarze (1970:168-9))

In this extract the farmers are being permitted by an external initiator to do something voluntarily - the ironic "hieß die Parole" shows that the sender of the text recognises the strangeness of the power-relationships at work here. The patterns of causality in the GDR text are also self-contradictory, with someone demanding that someone else do something voluntarily, and the use in the second half of the oxymoron verstärkt freiwillig.

The influence of Marx, Engels and Lenin is stressed again later in the GDR school text as well as in other documents; in the quotation below the farmers are spontaneously making the same discovery as these people with no external initiation or prompting:

- 162 Die Erfahrungen lehrten und immer mehr Bauern erkannten, daß die Landwirtschaft die Versorgung der Bevölkerung mit Nahrungsmitteln und der Industrie mit Rohstoffen nur gewährleisten konnte, wenn sie zur gemeinschaftlichen genossenschaftlichen Produktion übergingen. Den Weg hatten Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und W I Lenin gewiesen. (Diehl et al (1978:277))

The school text book contains the following extract:

- 163 (Die SED) wandte damit den von W I Lenin ausgearbeiteten Genossenschaftsplan - den Plan der sozialistischen Umgestaltung der Landwirtschaft in der Sowjetunion - schöpferisch auf unsere Bedingungen an. (7/53)

The positive schöpferisch here contrasts interestingly with the version of this event given below, quoted in an FRG school book from a GDR source:

- 164 (In der DDR) blieben die Bauern beim Übergang zur modernen Großflächenwirtschaft Eigentümer ihres gemeinsam genutzten Bodens. Sie sind gleichberechtigte Besitzer ihres genossenschaftlichen Vermögens So wurde bei uns der Grund und Boden nicht nationalisiert, wie . . . beispielsweise in der Sowjetunion. (G&P, p 184)

From this extract it appears that the "creative" element in the development of the LPGs was not to do as Lenin had suggested.

The GDR school book sums up the process of collectivisation thus:

- 165 Der Übergang zur vollen genossenschaftlichen Produktion in der Landwirtschaft der DDR vollzog sich in rund acht Jahren, von 1952 bis 1960. Das war wenig Zeit für eine solch gewaltige Aufgabe. Aber sie konnte erfüllt werden, weil die Partei der Arbeiterklasse und der Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Staat den Übergang der Bauern zur genossenschaftlichen Produktion stets führten und weil sie den Genossenschaftsbauern auf die vielfältigste Weise halfen Einen besonders wichtigen Beitrag zur Entwicklung der LPG leisteten die MTS. Sie unterstützten die Organisierung und Durchführung der Feldarbeiten (7/53)

The presentation of the time period involved and the role played by the Party is interesting here in view of the contrasting presentation in other documents. The process of collectivisation is depicted as straightforward and independent; all human participants are deleted. This picture contrasts strikingly with the following version given in the SED documents from 1952:

- 166 (Die politischen Abteilungen bei den Maschinenausleihstationen) organisieren die tägliche Aufklärungsarbeit über die Vorzüge der genossenschaftlichen Produktion in der Landwirtschaft und helfen den werktätigen Bauern, sich auf freiwilliger Grundlage in Produktionsgenossenschaften zusammenzuschließen. (Dokumente der SED, Vol IV: 142 (Richtlinien für die Arbeit der politischen Abteilungen bei den Maschinenausleihstationen 23 10 52))

The MAS (18) here are clearly the main agents of change and the initiators of the development of the farmers' consciousness; other processes of which the MAS are the agents in this extract include fördern, unterstützen, sorgen für, entwickeln. All these verbs are ambiguous, in that they can all be read as meaning either that the agents of them perform the process in support of action already taken by another agent, or that they themselves initiate this other action. Whilst the above extract emphasises that the action of the farmers is voluntary, the very amount of stress on this suggests that there may be some doubt as to precisely how voluntary it is (19). No reason is given for the making of the statement below by the SED, but it is possible to infer from it that not all processes were being carried out voluntarily:

- 167 (Die politischen Abteilungen) achten darauf, daß das Prinzip der Freiwilligkeit beim Eintritt in die Produktionsgenossenschaft eingehalten wird . . . (Dokumente der SED, Vol IV: 145 (Richtlinien für die Arbeit . . . 25 10 52))

A western view of this process is summed up in Arens' phrase "Freiwillig hieße hier in Einsicht der politischen Notwendigkeit" (Arens (1976:244)).

The SED stresses the amount of propaganda work involved in the development of the LPGs, which is additional to the relatively straightforward organisational tasks performed:

- 168 (Die MAS) führen einen beharrlichen Kampf um die Hebung des ideologischen und politischen Niveaus der Traktorenisten . . . Sie helfen den Kampf gegen eine schlechte Arbeitsmoral zu organisieren und tragen zur Entwicklung des sozialistischen Bewußtseins bei den Mitgliedern der Produktionsgenossenschaften bei. (Dokumente der SED, Vol IV: 144, 146 (Richtlinien für die Arbeit . . . 25 10 52))

Clearly agitation of this kind is not regarded as infringing the principle of Freiwilligkeit. In the quotation from Diehl above, erkennen is ambiguous as to whether the mental process is spontaneous or as a result of propaganda; it is interesting to compare Diehl's 1978 version of events, written with hindsight, with the quotation below from the year 1952:

- 169 Die Politischen Abteilungen führen unter den werktätigen Bauern eine ständige Aufklärungsarbeit zur Schaffung von Produktionsgenossenschaften durch, wobei sie den werktätigen und Einzelbauern geduldig die Vorzüge der genossenschaftlichen Produktion erklären. (Dokumente der SED, Vol IV: 147 (Richtlinien für die Arbeit . . . 25 10 52))

Here there is a clear external initiator, and the farmers themselves do nothing spontaneously. In this case the passing of time has made possible the ideologically based transformation of the syntax of processes and patterns of interaction (20). This process of the ideological transformation of extralinguistic reality can also be traced in much earlier documents:

- 170 Den Landarbeitern und werktätigen Bauern, die sich auf völlig freiwilliger Grundlage zu Produktionsgenossenschaften zusammenschließen, ist die notwendige Hilfe zu gewähren und dadurch zugleich das Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit den werktätigen Bauern zu festigen. (Dokumente der SED, Vol IV: 74-5 (quotation from Second Party Congress, 1952, quoted in 7/53))

The use of völlig freiwillig here is interesting; the action cannot be voluntary in the sense of "self-initiated", since it is performed at the wish of the SED: the desire to act has been prompted by an external source. Moreover, example 170 is ambiguous if read out of context: whilst on one reading it means that "only those farmers who form co-operatives are to be helped", it could also be taken to mean "all the farmers are to be helped - they are voluntarily forming co-operatives". Similarly:

- 171 Die MTS wurden immer mehr zu wirtschaftlichen, politischen und kulturellen Zentren der fortschrittlichen Entwicklung auf dem Lande. Durch die Bildung von über 2000 landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften wurde das Bündnis der Arbeiterklasse mit den werktätigen Bauern gefestigt und eine feste Basis für die Schaffung der Grundlagen des Sozialismus auf dem Lande geschaffen. (Dokumente der SED, Vol IV: 245 (Direktive des Sekretariats des ZK zur erfolgreichen Leitung der Vorbereitung und Durchführung der Frühjahrsbestellung 1953 durch die leitenden Parteiorgane und die Grundorganisationen, 29 1 53))

Here the Kampf and Aufklärungsarbeit of earlier quotations have become fortschrittliche Entwicklung; all agency and initiation have been

removed from this and the apparently spontaneous Bildung. Again the use of durch means that the prepositional phrase can be read as either agentive or instrumental, thus again fudging the issue of precisely who did what. Already here (1953) the issue of voluntariness/compulsion has been removed and the ideologically desirable picture is presented of the farmers spontaneously doing what the Party wants (21).

Similar problems to those involved in the use of überzeugen and erkennen occur with the verb vorschlagen:

- 172 Zur schnellen Beseitigung dieser Mängel und Schwächen wird daher folgendes vorgeschlagen: Bildung von Viehwirtschaftskommissionen . . . Die . . . Futtermittel . . . dürfen nur auf Vorschlag der Abteilung Landwirtschaft beim Rat des Kreises mit Bestätigung des Vorsitzenden des Rates des Kreises verausgabt werden. (Dokumente der SED, Vol IV: 353-4 (Kommuniqué des Politbüros zu Fragen der Entwicklung der Viehwirtschaft und Futterversorgung, 21 4 53))

Normal usage of vorschlagen leaves open the possibility of refusal on the part of the person receiving the suggestion; this does not seem to be the case here, in view of the imperative use of sein zu and haben zu in the rest of the text. There is a kind of doublethink involved here: it is ideologically desirable both that (a) the vanguard party leads the farmers to reorganisation and a better way of life, and (b) the farmers act spontaneously to improve their lot in life in line with Party thinking, as a result of their recognition of the correctness of this (22). The awkward issue of compulsion is avoided at least partly through the use of structures like those quoted above. A further example of this doublethink is quoted below: whilst to a non ML-reader this may appear to be an oxymoron, it encapsulates in a single sentence the efforts of ML writers to reconcile through language the frequently wide gulf between ideological theory and practice. The issue of voluntariness/compulsion has by this stage (1960) been resolved in a dialectical process of demonstration and recognition; this then forms the basis of statements such as the one below in which the actions of the farmers are set in a context of world-wide significance:

- 173 Durch den freiwilligen Zusammenschluß der Bauern in genossenschaftlichen sozialistischen Großbetrieben schaffen sie die Voraussetzungen für eine bedeutende Steigerung der Marktproduktion und der Arbeitsproduktivität, verwandeln das alte Dorf in das fortschrittliche, sozialistische Dorf und leisten damit einen großen Beitrag für die Stärkung der Deutschen Demo-

kratischen Republik, der Basis im Kampf gegen den aggressiven westdeutschen Militarismus und für die Wiedervereinigung zu einem friedliebenden, demokratischen Deutschland. (Dokumente der SED, Vol VIII: 69 (Die Erhöhung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion und die Entwicklung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften, 2 4 60)))

The depiction in GDR documents of the process of collectivisation is thus seen to change from one of external initiation to one of co-operation and spontaneous action. This is in stark contrast to the version of events presented in FRG texts: in the example below the farmers are clearly the affected entity of the process:

- 174 Die Umwandlung der Landwirtschaft in der DDR aus einer Vielzahl privatwirtschaftlicher Betriebe in die "Landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften" ist nicht ohne politischen Druck und Zwang zustandegekommen. Mancher Bauer verließ damals Haus und Hof und flüchtete in die Bundesrepublik (G&P, p 184)
- 175 Im Frühjahr 1960 wurden dann fast alle Einzelbauern in einer groß angelegten Kampagne zum Eintritt in eine LPG gezwungen. Offiziell hieß es: "Der Eintritt in die Genossenschaft ist freiwillig". (Greiffenhagen and Hättich (1979:160); see similarly Sontheimer and Bleek (1975:160))
- 176 In der DDR wurden alle Bauern gezwungen, in landwirtschaftliche Kollektive einzutreten. (Monsheimer and Hilligen (1972:163))
- 177 In der DDR wurde der Zusammenschluß der Landwirte, die "Kollektivierung" in Landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften, mit staatlichem Druck vollzogen. (Grix and Knöll (1976:177)) (23)

In these extracts from FRG school books, events are perceived and described in a very different way. The reluctance of the farmers to join collectives is stressed, and they do so only under duress. Whilst the SED documents admit that there are some problems within the collectives, which it is the task of the Party to iron out, the issue of why the farmers actually join the collective is dealt with as described above, and summarised thus:

- 178 Im Frühling 1960 vollendeten alle Bäuerinnen und Bauern der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik im engen Bündnis mit der Arbeiterklasse den historischen Schritt des freiwilligen Zusammenschlusses in landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften. (Dokumente der SED, Vol VIII: 197 (Brief des Zentralkomitees an die Genossenschaftsbäuerinnen und -bauern der landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften Typ I, 2 6 60)))

Here historical processes and events have been condensed and trans-

formed into an ideologically desirable version of reality. Problems occurring within the collective are similarly perceived from the point of view of the Party as the result of false consciousness or sabotage by imperialist agents:

- 179 Die reaktionären und kapitalistischen Elemente auf dem Lande versuchen, die Durchführung der Pläne in der Landwirtschaft zu stören und die Entwicklung und Festigung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften zu hemmen. Das kommt besonders darin zum Ausdruck, daß sie die Bestellung der Felder vernachlässigen, die Düngemittel nicht ausbringen und insbesondere den Viehhaltplan nicht beachten, das Vieh völlig ungenügend füttern beziehungsweise die Futtermittel sogar vernichten.
(Dokumente der SED, Vol VIII: 353 (Die Erhöhung der Landwirtschaftlichen Produktion . . . 21 3 60)) (24)

The above discussion shows how the official view of the land reform in the GDR has changed in the years since it was carried out. It is clear that in a thesis of the present kind we are dealing with not only the relationship between language and ideology, but also that between these and empirical reality. Not only do ideology and the linguistic presentation of it not always coincide, but when they do it may be as a result of a reinterpretation of historical events to make them "fit" the ideology (25). It is not possible in the present thesis to investigate the linguistic presentation of many major historical events, but the examples given above reveal what scope there is for future research in the triangle language-ideology-reality. A chronological and comparative investigation of this type is extremely useful in discovering how the transformation process works within a single ideological and organisational framework.

8.6 Conclusion

Our discussion of testability draws together some of the recurrent themes of Part III of the thesis. Earlier sections dealt with the text-typological differentiation of the two sets of textbooks, and how this distinction is borne out by a series of linguistic features which we have discussed from the point of view of each of Halliday's macrofunctions Transitivity, Mood and Theme. In this final section we have subsumed all these features under the overall heading of Testability, culminating in the three short case-studies. We have widened the discussion from the question of the position of working

people in society to ways in which language can be employed in the ideological interpretation, depiction and transmission of historical events.

The school textbooks in the two German states occupy different positions with regard to the overall universe of available texts: in the FRG the facts and opinions contained in the schoolbooks are simply one of many available versions, and this is made clear to the reader, whilst in the GDR the texts contain the only ideologically acceptable version of events, which is echoed in all other contemporary versions of those events. By comparing modern and historical versions of events, from both the FRG and the GDR, we have shown that there are differences not simply in the content, but also in the language of those texts.

We have discussed in an earlier section the different roles of the textbooks and the pupil in the context of political education in the two German states, and have adopted the terms "open" and "closed" universe to refer to the FRG and the GDR respectively. In the section on Testability we have discussed this distinction in terms of the provision which is made in the texts for them to be scrutinised and possibly rejected, in whole or in part, in favour of a rival version of events. We have discussed the provision of references for quotations and statistics, the extent to which causal and power-relations are made explicit, and how far presuppositions can be questioned, together with the extent to which the language of the text itself is open to questioning and discussion. In so doing we provide further evidence of the interrelationship of ideology and language from the point of view of the testability/non-testability of the texts.

Notes

- 1 This is confirmed by the following quotation from Brandis (1974:539):

(Das Bild vom sozialistischen "Staatsbürger") läßt keine Alternative zu, so daß auch kein Einüben kontroversen Denkens erwünscht ist. Die lineare und auf Harmonisierung abzielende Didaktik ist durch den Rahmen, den der Marxismus-Leninismus abgibt, bedingt. Modifizierungen, die je nach politischer Lage notwendig erscheinen, ordnet die SED an.

Pateman (1975) writes in a similar way about western societies in general; whilst it is impossible for us to enter into a detailed discussion of Pateman's views here, we would argue that the sentence quoted below is more immediately applicable to the situation of schoolchildren in the GDR than of those in the FRG, and that this state of affairs is deliberately brought about by the ruling group:

. . . Rational error is produced as a consequence of the intellectual division of labour in which people are compelled to rely on others for information, and to the extent that it is more difficult to gain access to the source's sources, it becomes necessary to have to depend upon 'anti-rational and unscientific' trust. (Kochman (1978:114); emphasis in original). See also *ibid*, p 116
- 2 See also Ellul (1973:17), where he writes that, in order for the propaganda to be effective, there must be no external points of reference, but a "slow, constant impregnation".
- 3 Edelman (1977:59-60) writes as follows:

Chairman Mao has said: "Without democracy there cannot be correct concentration, because it is impossible to establish centralism where people have divergent views and don't have unity in thinking". The "because" in this quotation puts the sentence outside the logic of liberal democracy. It only makes sense within a logic which allows the definition of democracy to include centralism, or to include unanimous decision as a criterion of democracy but to exclude the majority principle.

- This is a good example of a system of argument being built up on what are ultimately untestable and subjective beliefs rather than facts, beliefs which are given the status of facts, however, by virtue of not being questioned. (See similarly Ellul (1973:110); Benn and Peters (1969:15))
- 4 See also Bar-Lev (1975:128), where he defines analytical statements as "assertional vacuities", such as "That bachelor isn't married".
- 5 On the circular and self-defining nature of political arguments, see Topitsch (1960:237-8):

. . . So kann man der Welt ganz nach Belieben eine monarchische oder republikanische Staatsform zuschreiben, um daraus zu folgern, daß die Monarchie bzw. die Republik die der Weltordnung entsprechende und daher richtige Verfassung sei . . .

- 6 The following example gives a similar picture: the statement is analytic within the worldview of the unions who are making it, ie they take for granted the presuppositions within the sentence, and believe as an objective truth what to others might be simply a statement of opinion:
 Wichtige Voraussetzungen breiterer Vermögensstreuung sind ein höherer Anteil der Arbeitnehmer am Volkseinkommen, der Abbau der Steuerprivilegien für hohe Einkommen und die besondere Förderung der Ersparnis- und Vermögensbildung bei den unteren und mittleren Einkommensgruppen. (G&P, p. 167)
- 7 See TP, p 26, where there are quotations on education from the USSR, Hitler's Germany, Mao, Greece and the FRG.
- 8 The first sentence of the preceding extract runs:
 Wirtschaftsplanung, oder genauer die Planung der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung, ist ein wesentliches Element des Sozialismus.
- 9 On the association of ideas and the combination of several sentences, see Taylor (1976:117):
 Ultimately, we extract and retain an idea or ideas expressed in sentences, not a discrete set of sentences.
 On the same topic, see also Johnson et al (1973); Griggs (1974).
 See also Heidger and Wiechens (1976:10) on "successivity" in language:
 Diese Sukzessivität der Sprache bildet wohl die beste Möglichkeit zu manipulieren. Dies kann z.B. dadurch geschehen, daß dem Empfänger Teile der Information verschwiegen werden, oder daß Aussagenteile so aufgereiht werden, daß eine Wichtung im Sinne des Senders entsteht.
- 10 The paragraph in which sentence 112 occurs runs as follows:
 Die Arbeiterklasse ist durch ihre Besitzlosigkeit an Produktionsmitteln vollkommen frei von allen Bindungen an das Privateigentum an Produktionsmitteln. Nichts hindert, nichts bindet sie auf ihrem revolutionären Weg . . . Die Arbeiterklasse ist die einzig konsequent revolutionäre Klasse.
- 11 Richard Nixon's reference during the Vietnam war to an unidentified (and unidentifiable) "silent majority" in favour of his policy is a similar device:
 Its function was to evoke a reference group other than the plainly visible and non-silent one for the large number of people who were torn or uncertain regarding their position on the war. For such a purpose a "majority" that cannot be observed because it is "silent" is ideal. For anyone looking for a reason to support the President and the war, the "silent majority" serves its purpose even if it does not exist. (Edelman (1977:30); see similarly Ellul (1973:55, 86f))

- 12 The final paragraph in this section runs thus:
Für die Frau ist es aber trotz ihrer Gleichberechtigung nicht immer leicht, ihre Aufgaben als Staatsbürgerin mit ihren Pflichten als Hausfrau und Mutter zu vereinbaren. Nach statistischen Angaben beträgt zum Beispiel der durchschnittliche Aufwand für die Hausarbeit der Frau je Woche etwa 37 Stunden, der des Ehemannes hingegen nur rund 6 Stunden.
- 13 For population statistics, see Introducing the GDR (1976:30); for figures on women teachers, see Meier (1974:167f).
- 14 Hartung (1969:490) objects to the use in the FRG of the word Mauer, which he sees as inaccurate and ideologically biased against the GDR.
- 15 See also Dokumente der SED, Vol I: 106-8 (Aufruf an alle Neubauern und Umsiedler, 14 10 46):
Hinzu kam die demokratische Bodenreform, die auf die Initiative der heute in der SED vereinten sozialistischen Parteien eingeleitet wurde und zur Durchführung kam . . .
- 16 See for example Dokumente der SED, Vol I: 102 (Wahlaufruf der SED, 7 10 46):
(Die SED) kämpft für eine von monopolkapitalistischen Einflüssen freie Wirtschaft ohne Inflation und Krisen . . .
Similarly, Dokumente der SED, Vol I: 57 (Programm zu den Gemeindewahlen, 20 6 46):
(Die Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands) fordert daher: Festigung und Ausbau der Bodenreform . . . materielle Hilfe für die Neubauern . . . Beschaffung von Vieh, Geräten und Zugkraft . . .
- 17 See also the following quotation, where the farmers are the beneficiaries of the process:
Insgesamt erhielten 544 079 Bauern-, Landarbeiter- und Umsiedlerfamilien 2 167 602 Hektar Land.
(Dokumente der SED, Vol III: 98, (Die gegenwärtige Lage und die Aufgaben der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands))
- 18 The SED documents refer to MAS, the school text book to MTS (7/53), which are defined as a later form of MAS, which were originally started in 1949 (see 7/27).
- 19 See below on the ambiguity of freiwillig. See also the following quotation from the SED:
In diesen Tagen zeigt sich wieder die Richtigkeit des freiwilligen Zusammenschlusses aller Bauern zu landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften.
(Dokumente der SED, Vol VIII: 440, (Aufruf des Zentralkomitees an alle Genossenschaftsbauerinnen und Genossenschaftsbauern, Landarbeiter und Traktoristen, an alle Mitglieder der in der Nationalen Front vereinigten Parteien und Massenorganisationen, an die örtlichen Volksvertretungen, ihre Räte und deren Mitarbeiter, an die gesamte Dorfbevölkerung, 20 6 61))).

The suggestion that the farmers were less enthusiastic than the Party would have liked is further confirmed by the following quotation:

Die SED versicherte noch im Juli 1959, es werde niemals ein Zwangsgesetz zum Eintritt in die LPG geben. (Weber (1966:147f))

- 20 See also the tautologous use of überzeugen in the following extract:
- Die Einzelbauern werden am ehesten für den Eintritt in die LPG überzeugt, wenn es die Genossen in den Dörfern verstehen, bei der Aussprache mit den Einzelbauern die Grundfragen unserer Agrarpolitik und die sozialistische Perspektive der Entwicklung unserer Landwirtschaft überzeugend darzulegen. (Dokumente der SED, Vol VIII: 12, (Brief des Zentralkomitees an alle Grundorganisationen in den landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften, volkseigenen Gütern, Maschinen-Traktoren-Stationen, Reparatur- und Technischen-Stationen (RTS) und in den Dörfern, 15 1 60))
- 21 See also the similarly ambiguous use of Gewinnung in the following extract:
- Die Beschlüsse der Delegierten der Genossenschaftsbauern auf der VI. LPG-Konferenz führten zur Erhöhung der Erträge der LPG und zur Gewinnung der Masse der Bauern für die landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften. (Dokumente der SED, Vol VII: 68, (Die Erhöhung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion und die Entwicklung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften, 2 4 60))
- 22 This is corroborated by the fact that statements such as the following could be made, in which the content is belied by the form: it is incongruous that those who are said to have power need to be told this by another group:
- Ihr selbst seid die Gestalter Eurer Zukunft! (Dokumente der SED, Vol VIII: 49, (Brief des Zentralkomitees an alle Genossenschafts- und Einzelbauern unserer Republik, 21 3 60))
- 23 See also Grosser (1970:423):
- Then, on June 3rd, a law on "voluntary" collectivisation was passed by the Volkskammer. It was put into effect from December 1959 to April 1960 to the accompaniment of all sorts of pressure, including the public denouncing of recalcitrants, loudspeakers or organised shouting (Sprechchöre) outside their farms, and interminable "discussions" with party activists.
- See also Arens (1976:239-45); Rausch and Stammen (1974:30f, 130).
- 24 See also the following quotations, which suggest that all is not well in agriculture:
- . . . wenn Kräfte am Werke sind, die das große Werk des Friedens und des Neuaufbaus, die demokratische Bodenreform, zu torpedieren versuchen. (Dokumente der SED, Vol I: 108, (Aufruf an alle Neubauern und Umsiedler, 14 10 46))

Es ist nicht Bauernart, vor solchen Schwierigkeiten zu resignieren. Bauernart ist es, mit Fleiß und Energie anzupacken. Der Fleiß ist des Glückes Vater, sagt das Bauernsprichwort. Bauernart ist es, die Schwierigkeiten zu meistern und den Volkswirtschaftsplan 1961 zu sichern. (Dokumente der SED, Vol VIII: 439 (Aufruf des ZK, 20.6.61))

Schon in Vorbereitung der Frühjahrsbestellung sollte ein großer Teil der in der Landwirtschaft ausgebildeten Traktoristen und Spezialisten, die jetzt in anderen Volkswirtschaftszweigen arbeiten, wieder für die Landwirtschaft gewonnen werden . . . Das sichtbare Ergebnis der Erziehungsarbeit der sozialistischen Schule, der Pionierorganisation und der Freien Deutschen Jugend muß die Entscheidung der Schüler und Pioniere sein, nach ihrer Schulentlassung im sozialistischen Dorf zu bleiben und einen landwirtschaftlichen Beruf zu erlernen. (Dokumente der SED, Vol VIII: 74, 99 (Die Erhöhung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion . . . 24.6.60))

- 25 For work carried out on the ideological transformation of historical events, particularly with reference to South Africa, see for example Trew (1978). The fact that this kind of ideological interpretation and shaping of historical fact has happened in the GDR is confirmed by the following quotation:

The SED had to form a 'speedy and accurate assessment of the events of June 17th, which could be made acceptable to the population and, above all, the workers'. (Baring (1983:102))

Baring notes further that Neues Deutschland and the Tägliche Rundschau were instrumental in this process.

9 Concluding remarks

In this thesis we have investigated the role of language in the creation and maintenance of ideology; this has been done on the basis of a corpus that had not hitherto been subjected to this type of detailed linguistic analysis, and by employing a linguistic methodology not before applied to German in this way. Whilst the details of our arguments will hopefully be clear from the relevant sections, we feel that a brief general summary of our findings is appropriate.

These findings fall into two major categories: firstly, on the "micro-level" of our corpus and the conclusions that can be drawn from our analyses of it, and secondly, on the "macro-level" of the implications of these conclusions in the context of the relationship between language and ideology in general.

On the micro-level we have discussed some fundamental differences in the educational ideologies of the two German states, and illustrated ways in which these find expression in the differing status of the textbook and the reader within the respective education systems. We have shown that the distinctions drawn between "open" and "closed" universes, and "informative" and "operative" texts, are discernible in many aspects of the language of the textbooks, and that the language-systems operating in all of Halliday's three macro-functions serve to reinforce these fundamental differences. Our final section on Testability illustrates the interaction of some of these systems in the process of either encouraging a challenge to, or an unquestioning acceptance of, linguistically-mediated versions of reality, the language of which is itself an expression of the ideological basis of that reality.

We have demonstrated furthermore the applicability of a linguistic methodology based on the work of Halliday and the UEA-linguists to our corpus and our analysis of it. Our analysis both represents an extension and adaptation of this work to a language to which it has not been applied before in this way, and also avoids many of the pitfalls encountered by previous workers discussing the East-West German linguistic "rift". We have shown that the social and functional orientation of Hallidayan linguistics provides a viable framework for the analysis of a language other than English; whilst details of Halliday's findings

on the significance of specific features of English had to be amended in the light of German structures, the broad areas of language investigated in English by the UEA-linguists have been shown to play a similarly significant role in ideological language in German.

On the macro-level the thesis illustrates the intricate inter-relationship of language and ideology, and the crucial role played by language in the creation of acceptable versions of reality. A central feature of this function is the creation and maintenance of power-relations, which we have illustrated both on the level of the text, with our discussions of the linguistic representation of the status of working people, and also on the wider level, with our discussions of the respective positions of the senders and receivers of the texts and the scope which the receivers have to challenge the material with which they are confronted. We have sought, however, not simply to rehearse distinctions between the two sets of texts as straightforward expressions of the ideologies which they represent and embody, but also to consider examples of linguistic obfuscation which result from attempts to reconcile "mismatches" between ideology and reality.

Our final remarks should, perhaps, be directed towards possible avenues for further research. We have sought in this thesis to illustrate a number of linguistic systems in which ideological features are discernible. This has inevitably meant that our discussions have had to be limited in scope. Future research could profitably be directed towards a larger-scale investigation of one or more of these systems. It would undoubtedly be worthwhile, furthermore, to test the effectiveness of political education in the two German states in terms of the degree to which pupils internalise and reproduce ideologically acceptable linguistic formulations; this could take the form of the analysis of responses to a carefully-compiled questionnaire. The area of analysis could be widened to encompass texts intended for adult readers, texts that are less obviously "political" than those in our corpus, such as newspapers, literary and scientific texts; ideological features of the language used in radio and TV broadcasts could also be investigated. Such analyses could be carried out on a comparative basis, as was the present thesis, but this need not necessarily be the case: there are valuable insights to be gained into the interrelationship of language and ideology within the context of a single state, or a single section

of that state. We hope that we shall be able to participate in such further investigations.

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Appendix: texts referred to in the analyses

Note: Texts 1-6 were used in the analysis of cohesion, text 4 being used from * onwards; the whole of text 4, and text 2 were used in the case study in text-typology; text 4 from **onwards, and text 7 were used in the case study in modality and modulation.

Text 1

(1) In unserer Republik wurde auf der Grundlage der Macht der Arbeiter-
klasse im Bündnis mit der Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern und den
anderen werktätigen Schichten das Privateigentum an Produktions-
mitteln und damit auch die Ausbeutung beseitigt. (2) Es wurde das
sozialistische Eigentum an den Produktionsmitteln geschaffen.

(3) In der DDR gehören die Betriebe in der Industrie, Land- und Forstwirtschaft, im Verkehrswesen, des staatlichen Handels, die Bodenschätze sowie der Grund und Boden den Werktätigen selbst.

(4) Das sozialistische Eigentum existiert bei uns als gesamtgesellschaftliches Volkseigentum (VEB, VEG, HO) und als genossenschaftliches Gemeineigentum werktätiger Kollektive (LPG, PGH, GPG, Konsum).

(5) Diese neuen sozialistischen Eigentumsverhältnisse bestimmen auch
die gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen der arbeitenden Menschen im Sozial-
ismus zueinander. (6) Weil die Ausbeutung für immer beseitigt ist,
arbeiten die Werktätigen planmäßig und kameradschaftlich zusammen.

(7) Im Gegensatz zum Kapitalismus braucht bei uns der Arbeiter keine Angst zu haben, seinen Arbeitsplatz und somit die Lebensgrundlagen für sich und seine Familie zu verlieren. (8) Das RECHT AUF ARBEIT ist in der Verfassung (Artikel 21 und 24) und im Gesetzbuch der Arbeit festgelegt.

(9) Im Sozialismus wurde die Forderung der Arbeiterklasse nach der GLEICHBERECHTIGUNG DER FRAU verwirklicht. (10) Im Kapitalismus muß die Frau nach wie vor um gleichen Lohn für gleiche Arbeit und um gleiche Bildungsmöglichkeiten, wie sie dem Manne offenstehen, kämpfen. (11) In der DDR haben die Frauen, garantiert durch die Verfassung und andere staatliche Gesetze, die gleichen Rechte und Möglichkeiten wie die Männer. (12) Sie sind im Beruf, im gesellschaftlichen Leben, in der Freizeit und in Ehe und Familie dem Manne gleichberechtigt.

(13) 1972 waren fast 84 Prozent der Frauen und Mädchen im arbeitsfähigen Alter berufstätig oder lernten bzw. studierten.

(14) Mehr als ein Drittel aller Abgeordneten in den Volksvertretungen und etwa ein Zehntel aller Bürgermeister sind Frauen. (15) Jeder 4. Schuldirektor ist eine Frau.

(16) Für die Frau ist es aber trotz ihrer Gleichberechtigung nicht immer leicht, ihre Aufgaben als Staatsbürgerin mit ihren Pflichten als Hausfrau und Mutter zu vereinbaren. (17) Nach statistischen Angaben beträgt zum Beispiel der durchschnittliche Aufwand für die Hausarbeit der Frau je Woche etwa 37 Stunden, der des Ehemanns hingegen nur rund 6 Stunden. (7/65)

(Note: underlining indicates dark print in original; capitals indicate red print in original)

Text 2

(1) Während die Kapitalisten zur Sicherung der kapitalistischen Ausbeutung und Erhaltung ihres Systems einheitlich und geschlossen gegen die Arbeiterklasse auftreten, verhalten sie sich im Konkurrenzkampf untereinander wie Wölfe. (2) Im Interesse höchstmöglicher Profite findet zwischen den kapitalistischen Unternehmern ein Kampf auf Leben und Tod statt. (3) Jeder Kapitalist muß im Interesse seines Profits gegenüber den anderen Kapitalisten ständig nach Vorteilen streben. (4) Das Ergebnis der Konkurrenz ist die Niederlage und der geschäftliche Tod des einen, der Sieg und die Herrschaft des anderen.

(5) Durch den Konkurrenzkampf vollzieht sich eine zunehmende Konzentration der Produktion und des Kapitals in wenigen Händen.

(6) Die Eigentums- und Vermögenskonzentration ist gegenwärtig in der BRD so groß, daß sich 70 Prozent des Produktionsvermögens im Besitz von nur 1,7 Prozent der Bevölkerung befinden. (7) 0,02 Prozent der Bevölkerung oder 15000 Personen dieses kapitalistischen Staates sind reicher als 99,8 Prozent zusammen bei einer Gesamtbevölkerung von rund 56 Millionen.

(8) Im Gefolge des Konkurrenzkampfes mußte sich zum Beispiel 1976 sogar der renommierte Versandhauskonzern Neckermann dem ökonomischen Druck des Karstadt-Konzerns beugen.

(9) In der Konkurrenz der privaten Warenproduzenten untereinander erlangen diejenigen ökonomische Vorteile, die mit besseren technischen Ausrüstungen die Waren herstellen und absetzen können. (10) Die Konzentration der jeweils neuesten Produktionsmittel in den Händen der kapitalistischen Großunternehmer führt dazu, daß die kleinen und mittleren Unternehmer und besonders die Handwerker und Kleinbauern dem Konkurrenzdruck über die zeitweilig niedrigeren Preise nicht standhalten können und ihre Betriebe aufgeben. (11) Seit Gründung der BRD im Jahre 1949 blieben rund 900 000 bäuerliche Existenzen auf der Strecke. (12) Zwei Millionen Menschen verloren ihre Existenzgrundlage durch das Wirken des Wolfsgesetzes der kapitalistischen Konkurrenz.

(13) Gleichzeitig wirkt sich der ununterbrochene Konkurrenzkampf der Kapitalisten untereinander direkt auf die Arbeiterklasse aus. (14) Um die Profite zu erhöhen und Vorteile gegenüber den Konkurrenten zu erlangen, wird die Ausbeutung der Arbeiter durch Lohnabbau, Verschlechterung der Sicherheitsvorrichtungen, kapitalistische Rationalisierung usw. gnadenlos verschärft. (15) Der heutige Kapitalismus hat seine menscheitsfeindliche Eigenschaft über Unsicherheit und Erschütterungen hinaus bis zu Welkriegen, nationalen Katastrophen, Ausrottung oder Dezimierung ganzer Völker durch Hunger und systematischen Völkermord gesteigert. (16) Das Verbrechen an der Menschheit wurde zum ständigen Wesenszug der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft. (9/42-3)

(Note: underlining indicates dark print in original)

Text 3

- (1) Die zentrale staatliche Leitung und Planung der Volkswirtschaft verkörpert wesentliche Seiten der Ausübung der politischen Macht der Arbeiterklasse. (2) Sie orientiert alle gesellschaftlichen Kräfte auf einheitliche Ziele und gewährleistet die soziale Sicherheit der Werktätigen.
- (3) Je umfangreicher die Produktion, je größer die Maßstäbe in der Forschung und in der Wirtschaft werden, je tiefer die internationale sozialistische Zusammenarbeit wird, um so notwendiger ist es, Schlüsselfragen der gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung zentral zu lösen.
- (4) Bei der Existenz des gesamtgesellschaftlichen Volkseigentums im Sozialismus sind Betriebsgrenzen objektiv kein Hindernis, volkswirtschaftliche Lösungen und Entscheidungen im Interesse der gesamten Gesellschaft zu finden bzw. zu treffen. (5) Das ist ein wesentlicher Vorzug des Sozialismus. (6) Immer mehr hängt dabei die Effektivität der volkswirtschaftlichen Entwicklung von rechtzeitigen und richtigen Entscheidungen der zentralen Staatsorgane ab.
- (7) Die andere Seite des demokratischen Zentralismus in der Wirtschaft der DDR ist die Eigenverantwortlichkeit der Kombinate, Betriebe und örtlichen Staatsorgane.
- (8) Jeder Betrieb ist vielfältig mit der gesamten Volkswirtschaft verbunden. (9) Keine zentrale Stelle - und hätte sie noch so viele kluge Mitarbeiter - ist in der Lage, die tausendfältigen Beziehungen in und zwischen den Betrieben unmittelbar zu planen und zu organisieren. (10) Das können nur die Betriebe selbst. (11) Jedes zentrale wirtschaftsleitende Organ wäre überfordert, wenn man von ihm verlangen würde, detaillierte Rezepte für jeden Betrieb auszuarbeiten.
- (12) Zu den Grundfragen der Kombinate und Betriebe, die sie eigenverantwortlich zu lösen haben, gehört zum Beispiel, neue Erzeugnisse und Verfahren zu entwickeln, neue rationelle und wirksame organisatorische Lösungen für die Produktion aufzuspüren, Material und Kosten einzusparen, frühzeitig zu erkennen, wie Forschungs- und Entwicklungskräfte am wirksamsten einzusetzen sind, die Werktätigen zu qualifizieren, kurzum: die Produktion zu intensivieren und auf effektive Weise zu leiten und zu organisieren. (10/99)

Text 4

Thema Politik, p 127-8

MARKTWIRTSCHAFT. Das Modell der Marktwirtschaft geht davon aus, daß der einzelne nach seinen persönlichen wirtschaftlichen Interessen handelt. Er selbst entscheidet darüber, was er verbrauchen oder wieviel er in welche Produktion investieren will.

Die Planung der Produktion liegt bei den Unternehmen. Sie müssen versuchen, die zukünftigen Käuferwünsche zu ermitteln, um Gewinne zu machen und nicht in Konkurs zu gehen. Die Angebote der Unternehmer und die Nachfrage der Verbraucher sollen sich am Markt ausgleichen.

DER PREIS eines Gutes soll sich in einer Marktwirtschaft durch das

Zusammenspiel von Angebot und Nachfrage ergeben. Wenn sich viele Käufer für ein bestimmtes Produkt interessieren, kann es sein, daß die Nachfrage danach größer ist als die angebotene Menge. In diesem Fall kann der Hersteller oder der Händler den Preis erhöhen. Im umgekehrten Fall wird der Preis sinken.

Für den einzelnen Unternehmer bedeutet das: hat er in eine Produktion investiert, für die keine Nachfrage besteht, dann erzielt er wenig oder keinen Gewinn. Hat jemand einen Beruf, für den kein Bedarf besteht, so wird er nur wenig oder gar keinen Lohn erhalten. Ginge man vom reinen Modell der Marktwirtschaft aus, dann müßte z.B. ein Kranker ohne Vermögen und Familienhilfe verhungern; S 56.

ZUSAMMENWIRKEN DER PRODUKTIONSAKTOREN. Die Entscheidung darüber, welche Produktionsfaktoren wo eingesetzt werden, wird in der Marktwirtschaft nicht von einer staatlichen Stelle, sondern von den einzelnen Unternehmensleitungen getroffen. Das Verhältnis von Angebot und Nachfrage soll hierbei ausschlaggebend sein. Nach der Modellvorstellung werden die Produktionsfaktoren Kapital und Arbeit dorthin wandern, wo die höchsten Gewinne bzw Löhne zu erzielen sind. Ein vereinfachtes Beispiel: Wegen sinkender Nachfrage nach Schuhen sinken die Preise für Schuhe und damit auch die Löhne und Gewinne in der Schuhindustrie. (Lohn ist der Preis für Arbeit, Gewinn ist der Preis für Kapital). Jetzt - so kann man annehmen - wandern Arbeit und Kapital in Produktionsbereiche ab, wo durch stärkere Nachfrage der Verbraucher die Preise der Produkte höher sind, also auch höhere Löhne und höhere Gewinne zu erwarten sind.

UNTER WELCHEN VORAUSSETZUNGEN KANN DAS MODELL DER MARKTWIRTSCHAFT FUNKTIONIEREN?

- Marktwirtschaft kann nur funktionieren, wenn Wettbewerb (Konkurrenz) herrscht. Die Verbraucher haben die Möglichkeit, unter mehreren jeweils gleichartigen Gütern auszuwählen. Viele einzelne Anbieter von Waren oder Dienstleistungen konkurrieren um die Kunden.

- Außerdem ist es notwendig, daß der Käufer den Markt überschauen und die Angebote vergleichen kann (Markttransparenz).

Sind diese Voraussetzungen nicht gegeben, dann ist das Funktionieren der Marktwirtschaft in Frage gestellt.

*(1) DER WETTBEWERB GERÄT IN GEFABR DURCH KONZENTRATION. (2) Um die Gewinnmöglichkeiten zu verbessern, versuchen die Unternehmen Konkurrenten auszuschalten. (3) Das führt nach und nach zur Bildung immer größerer Unternehmen. (4) Solche Großunternehmen haben so viel wirtschaftliche und politische Macht, daß sie allein oder gemeinsam mit wenigen anderen Großunternehmern willkürlich die Preise für ihre Produkte bestimmen können. (5) Damit ist dann für diese Produkte der Markt mit seiner Preisbildung durch Angebot und Nachfrage außer Kraft gesetzt. (6) Zudem besteht die Gefahr, daß nicht das produziert wird, was den Bedürfnissen der Menschen entspricht, sondern das, was die größten Gewinne verspricht; S 74, S 130 und 132.

(7) MARKTÜBERSICHT IST SCHWER HERZUSTELLEN. (8) Werbung ist in der Marktwirtschaft notwendig, um die Verbraucher über das Angebot zu informieren. (9) Wenn aber manipulierende Werbung mit Tricks versucht, die Verbraucher zum Kauf eines ganz bestimmten Produkts zu überreden, dann ist sie eine Gefahr. (10) Sie hindert den Käufer daran, sich Marktübersicht zu verschaffen und sich für das Gut zu entscheiden, das er wirklich braucht. (11) Außerdem wird die Marktübersicht dadurch erschwert, daß große Firmen ein und dasselbe Produkt unter verschiedenen Markenzeichen herstellen und zu unter-

schiedlichen Preisen anbieten; S 60.

***(12) ZENTRALVERWALTUNGSWIRTSCHAFT - WIE WERDEN IHRE ZIELE FESTGELEGT?**

(13) In der Zentralverwaltungswirtschaft geht man nicht von vielen selbständig wirtschaftenden Unternehmen aus, sondern man betrachtet alle Betriebe als eine Einheit. (14) Die Ziele, die diese Betriebe zu erfüllen haben, werden von staatlichen Stellen in Wirtschaftsplänen festgelegt. (15) Diese Pläne können auf demokratischem Weg zustande kommen durch Beteiligung aller Gesellschaftsmitglieder, sie können aber auch durch Entscheidungen von oben erlassen werden. (16) Der schließlich beschlossene Plan gilt für alle, und alle müssen sich bei ihren Entscheidungen nach ihm richten. (17) Den Wirtschaftsplänen liegen gesellschaftliche oder politische Ziele zugrunde, die mit Hilfe der Pläne verwirklicht werden sollen. (18) Man kann sich als Ziele zum Beispiel vorstellen: Verringerung der Analphabetenzahlen oder Steigerung der Stahlproduktion. (19) Die Planung ist ein komplizierter Prozeß. (20) Dabei müssen berücksichtigt werden die Bedürfnisse der Gesellschaftsmitglieder, die Ziele des Plans, die technischen Möglichkeiten der Volkswirtschaft und die zur Verfügung stehenden Produktionsfaktoren. (21) Zudem müssen Annahmen über zukünftige Entwicklungen (Schätzungen für 5, 10 oder 15 Jahre und mehr) gemacht werden.

(Note: underlining indicates dark print in original; capitals indicate italics in original)

Text 5

(1) Eine andere Möglichkeit der Vermögensumverteilung ist im "Investivlohn" gegeben. (2) Hierbei wird ein Teil des Einkommens nicht bar ausgezahlt, sondern vermögenswirksam angelegt. (3) Diesem Plan liegt folgender Gedanke zu Grunde: Die bisherige Einkommensverteilung hat zu einer großen Benachteiligung der Arbeitnehmer geführt. (4) Die aktive Lohnpolitik der Gewerkschaften führte keine grundlegende Änderung dieser Situation herbei, weil die Arbeitgeberseite durch Preiserhöhungen einen Teil des Lohnzuwachses wieder für sich abschöpfen kann. (5) Außerdem kann das für das wirtschaftliche Wachstum entscheidende Verhältnis von Konsum und Investition nicht beliebig verschoben werden. (6) Soll das beständige Wachstum der Wirtschaft gesichert bleiben, müssen zur besseren Ausstattung der Wirtschaft mit Produktionsmitteln laufend neue Investitionen getätigt werden. (7) Diese Neuinvestitionen sind bisher fast völlig den Unternehmern zugefallen. (8) Hier soll der Investivlohn eine Änderung herbeiführen. (9) Der von den Unternehmern zusätzlich zum Barlohn gezahlte Betrag wird zB bei einer Bank oder Sparkasse angelegt. (10) Die Unternehmen können sich die für die Investitionen benötigten Mittel zum jeweiligen Zinssatz ausleihen. (11) Als erste Gewerkschaft hat 1965 die IG Bau-Steine-Erden unter ihrem damaligen Vorsitzenden Georg Leber einen Tarifvertrag über die Gewährung vermögenswirksamer Leistungen zugunsten der Arbeitnehmer abgeschlossen.

(12) Eine weitere Möglichkeit ist die unmittelbare Beteiligung am Firmengewinn. (13) Dies kann in Form einer Jahresprämie oder in Form von Belegschaftsaktien geschehen. (14) Als Gefahr kann bei diesen Formen eine Einengung der Freizügigkeit der Arbeitnehmer und die Abhängigkeit von der Ertragslage des Betriebs gesehen werden. (15) Mit anderen Worten: Will der Arbeitnehmer seine Beteiligungs-

rechte nicht verlieren, muß er im Betrieb bleiben, er kann also seinen Arbeitsplatz nicht wechseln. (16) Falls sich die Gewinn-situation des Betriebes verschlechtert, wirkt sich das entsprechend auf den Anteil der Beteiligung aus: er wird geringer oder ganz gestrichen. (17) Der Arbeitnehmer kann nicht mit einer feststehenden und vorausberechenbaren Geldsumme rechnen.

(18) Andere Pläne versuchen, diese Nachteile zu vermeiden. (19) Ein Teil der durch "Selbstfinanzierung" in den Unternehmungen entstandenen Werte soll an einen überbetrieblichen Fonds abgeleitet werden.

(20) Die Mittel dieses Fonds sollen den Unternehmern für Investitionen zur Verfügung stehen. (21) Vorteilhaft bei dieser Form ist, daß alle Arbeitnehmer den gleichen Anteil am Fondsvermögen besitzen sollen, unabhängig davon, ob die jeweilige Ertragslage ihres Betriebs günstig oder ungünstig ist. (G&P, p 168)

Text 6

(1) Die gegenwärtige Einkommens- und Vermögensverteilung ist ungerecht. (2) Es ist dringend erforderlich, alle Volksschichten an der volkswirtschaftlichen Vermögensbildung zu beteiligen. (3) Der Umfang der Beteiligung der Arbeitnehmer am Ergebnis der wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeit ist ein wesentlicher Maßstab für soziale Gerechtigkeit. (4) Der Anspruch der Arbeitnehmer auf eine Beteiligung an dem bereits gebildeten Vermögen bleibt aufrechterhalten. (5) Die aktive Lohn- und Gehaltspolitik und andere tarifpolitische Maßnahmen der Gewerkschaften sind auf eine gerechte Verteilung des Sozialprodukts gerichtet. (6) Diesem Ziel müssen auch alle wirtschaftspolitischen Maßnahmen dienen.

(7) Wichtige Voraussetzungen breiterer Vermögensstreuung sind ein höherer Anteil der Arbeitnehmer am Volkseinkommen, der Abbau der Steuerprivilegien für hohe Einkommen und die besondere Förderung der Ersparnis- und Vermögensbildung bei den unteren und mittleren Einkommensgruppen.

(Grundsatzprogramm des deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes, quoted in G&P, p 167)

Text 7

Der demokratische Zentralismus in der Wirtschaft

(1) Die sozialistische Wirtschaft ist eine Planwirtschaft. (2) Die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit der gesamtstaatlichen Leitung und Planung der Wirtschaft ergibt sich

- 1 aus dem sozialistischen Eigentum an den Produktionsmitteln;
- 2 aus der gesellschaftlichen Arbeitsteilung, der Spezialisierung, Kooperation und Kombination der Produktion;
- 3 aus der allseitigen und komplexen Ausnutzung der ökonomischen Gesetze des Sozialismus, besonders aus den Erfordernissen des ökonomischen Grundgesetzes und des Gesetzes der planmäßigen proportionalen Entwicklung.

(3) Um eine sozialistische Wirtschaft zu leiten, zu planen und weiterzuentwickeln, sind viele komplizierte Aufgaben zu lösen. (4) Einige davon sollen hier genannt werden.

(5) - Die vielfältigen, ständig wachsenden und sich verändernden Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen und der ganzen Gesellschaft müssen erfaßt werden, weil sie Ausgangspunkt der sozialistischen Planung sind.

(6) - Die gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen (wie Festigung der sozialistischen Ordnung, ein hohes Wachstum der Produktion, die Erhöhung der Arbeitsproduktivität, die sozialistische ökonomische Integration) müssen geschaffen werden, um die wachsenden Bedürfnisse der Werktätigen zu befriedigen.

(7) - Es muß gewährleistet werden, daß sich sowohl die Wirtschaft als auch alle anderen gesellschaftlichen Bereiche planmäßig und proportional entwickeln.

(8) - Unter den Bedingungen der raschen Zunahme wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnisse und der immer kürzer werdenden Zeitspanne von Entdeckungen bis zu ihrer praktischen Anwendung muß ein genügend großer Vorlauf der Wissenschaft für Technik und Produktion gesichert werden.

(9) - Es muß gewährleistet werden, daß die einzelnen Betriebe diejenigen Erzeugnisse produzieren, die gesellschaftlich notwendig sind.

(10) - Die rund 8500 Industriebetriebe, die in der DDR existieren, müssen reibungslos mit Material versorgt werden, der Absatz der Erzeugnisse muß reibungslos funktionieren.

(11) - Es muß dafür gesorgt werden, daß qualifizierte Arbeitskräfte an der richtigen Stelle und zur rechten Zeit vorhanden sind. (12) Aus der Vielfalt der Notwendigkeiten, Bedürfnisse und Aufgaben und ihres Zusammenwirkens wird sichtbar, daß dafür eine straffe staatliche Leitung und breite Mitarbeit der Werktätigen erforderlich sind. (13) Deshalb sind der sozialistische Staat und alle Wirtschaftsleitungen auf der Grundlage des Prinzips des demokratischen Zentralismus organisiert.
(GDR 10/98)